

THE
V N K I N D E
DESERTOR
O F
LOYALL MEN
A N D
TRUE FRINDS.

In the land of the holy hee hath
don wicked things , and hee
shall not see the glory of our
Lord.

Isai cap. 26. vers. 10.



Superiorum permissu, Año 1676.



CENSURA.

Sanctis eremi incolis, strenuisque Christi
athletis non immerito annumerandus
venit venerabilis ille solitarius & fide-
lis Christi famulus Dominus S. E. qui ab
hinc annis, (ut fertur) viginti tribus spreto
hominum Commercio, ad *Mediterranei*
maris lictus à *Narbonensi* civitate, non
procul dissitum sedet. Vir hic sane, si ani-
mum ex scriptis spectes, Candidus & lustrus
apparet; si doctrinam, eruditissimus; si
facundiam, ornatissimus; quem insuper
Corporis pudicitia, animæ Castitas, mo-
rum Comitatus, & quod caput est, veritatis
amor, quæ Sacrorum hominum partes sem-
per esse debent, ab adolescentia, (nisi fa-
ma mendax sit) eximie decorarunt, sed has
hominum invidia sprevit virtutes, eum-
que opimo, quo gaudebat in patria, sa-
cerdotio spoliavit. Quid fecit vir optimus
in exilium relegatus? velut alter Arsenius
pulsante ad cordis autem voce Angelicâ
Fuge, late, tace. Continuo acquiescens ora-
culo, *Fugit, latuit, tacuit*; Damnatique
Baby-

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Babylonis plateis faciem ad Sanctam Ierusalem, æternam quæsiturus pacem, convertit. Enixius quærebat Dominum, & quem, diligebat animus, in crepidine maris invenit, nec dimisit; ratus venenata (quibus in hoc mundo omnes configimur) invidiæ spicula, neminem nisi eo protegente, declinare valere. Fidam igitur stationem nactus, & ab omni prorsus hominum consuetudine tutam, ut cum solo liberatore liberius colloqueretur, diu multumque conticuit. Tandem tamen aliquando divina dispensante voluntate, ruptis importuni nobis silentij repagulis, vox ejus altius intonuit; nostrasque ad aures à solitudinis antro allapsa non inutile cum semper otio torpuisse indicat: aureum enim hunc libellum, cui Titulus (*The Unkind desertor of loyall men and true Friends*) mole licet exiguum & tamen ipsa re magnis voluminibus comparandum à silentiarij ore patriæ tam fædè prodiitæ miseratio, vel potius ipsa extorsit veritas. Iliadem, ut aiunt, seu heu; malorum nostrorum in nuce habes; Gentem Hibernicam Catholice semper Religionis non citrà miraculum tenacissimam, veteris nobilitatis insignem, sceleratè modò profligatam, funditusque nefariorum hominum dolo,

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dolo, furore, & gladio eversam commemorat, plangendamque docet. *Iacobum Butlerum Ormondia Ducem*, ipsumque longa claraque Catholicorum majorum serie in ipso licet *Hibernia* regno conspicuè oriundum, malorum omnium fontem ac originem probat; Tantorumque criminum reum invictis peragit documentis: cum enim *Hiberniam* pròrex aliquando gubernasset, eique, ut prefe-
 ferebat, & ipsa reverà exigebat patriæ charitas, consulturus crederetur, ita omnes suis circumsepsit infatuavitque prastigiis incautos, ut omnes perdiderit, patriæque statum omnino subverteret. Hanc illius tam insignem numquamque expiandam perfidiam auctor, execrandosque dolos barbarico indignos animo detegit, palamque orbi facit; quid vero indignius, quid scelerarius, quam *Hibernos* quâ religione in Deum, quâ in regem fide inconcussos turpiter deserere, ac *Cromwelli* Trium nationum prædatoris satellitibus, & sicariis ad hære? Hoc inauditum scelus molitus est Ormonius, idque nescio quo inveterato in nationem suam paternamque fidem odio correptus, ac velut æstro percitus; huc accessit opum, dignitatumque sitis inexplebilis, atque effrene desiderium.

Aucto-

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Auctoris, (scriptis & fama mihi tantummodo noti) mentem amo, animi candorem amplector, virtutes veneror, acrem nitidumque stylum satis laudare nequeo, par sibi in omnibus iudicium admisor, ardentemque in patriam, gentemque suam amorem vehementer suspicio. Quamobrem præclarum hoc opus, & numeris omnibus absolutum, erudito certè dignum auctore publica luce dignissimum iudico. Idque vel maximè, cum nihil omnino complecti videatur, quod orthodoxæ fidei, Canonici-
 cis Sanctionibus, aut morum honestati ad-
 versetur. Quin imò Apostolicæ Sedis
 decus, atque honorem, ubicumque se in-
 gerit occasio, egregiè tueatur. Quod te-
 statum facio veritatis promulgandæ gratia
 ductus, & amore, cum exactè, nec non vigili
 cura omnia perlegerim, æquaque lance
 trutinaverim. *Signatum Parisiis 12. Februarij*
1676.

A. I.

S. T. Professor.

THE

THE PREFACE

BAnished for Religion, and Loyalty to my Prince (in the yeare 1652.) by Cromwelians then bearing sway, (wee were som fifteen of vs ship't in one bottom) landing in *Britaine* in *France*, I tooke my way to this Province not farre from *Narbon*, where I had frinds having liu'd there before : And heer I have been about 24. yeares very solitary, seeing rarly any of my Countrimen. Thus farre from *Labans* house and noys, I finde great tranquility and ease of minde in *Magdalens* silent contemplation.

When I have been forced a way, the Land was possessed by *Philistym*, they had the *Arck* captive, and vnder them my country was turned to a *Babylon* of sinn & vyce : Nothing was to be seen in the Streets of this Cittie but oppression of the Iust, jniquity, rage, and fury against Roman piety; the Altars salne downe, and the Priestes bitterly persecuted, some of them consuming a way in prisons, som cast into exile, and others chased in wods and mountains, like wyld beasts, all of them charged with two great crymes;

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To be Catholick Priestes, and Loyall to their king. All the Catholicks true to God and Prince, transplanted into a corner of the Kingdom. And this calamity they suffered with the rest, that Royall authority was layd a sid, and a Dagon sett vp (The tyranny of the vsurping Parliament) and revered.

This was the face then of that enchanted Island: and they say things are noe way amended (as to Catholick natives) since the kings going home, that change having noe ways bettered their fortunes, but that their calamities and miseries (soe it is written from many hand's) are dayly increased, soe as men beaten with *Scourges* in Crumwells tyme, cry out they are now beaten with *Scorpions*.

Often have I lamented all a lone for my deare Countrys desolation, and found my greefe inconsolable, because I saw noe end of their sufferings: Somtym it came to my minde, that if a sincere relation of our hard servitude and extremities were given to Catholick Princes with humble prayers, this would doe vs good; but a gainie when I called to minde that this had been don already, and that able and noble personages had said these things in
signi-

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significant language, and that they had in all Courts but cold and delaying answers, I despair'd of all releeve that way. One of our Bishops having been in Rome Anno 1652. *Ad visitanda limina Apostolica*, had conference with the then Cardinal Secretary (after *Alexander Septimus*) his Eminency said to the Bishop, it was a sensible griefe to his Holynesse to see his Children of Ireland a constant people in Catholick Religion soe sorly afflicted, and cast downe, and holy faith almost extinguished, and that there was noe way possible to releeve them; the *Prelate* reply'd our wound is now indeed soe wide and feastered, as is very hard to heal it, but when it was fresh, not soe wide, and as yet curable; our Nation found no *Samaritan* that would power oyle and wine into it.

One thing I shall say; worthy to be written in Characters of gold, that a Catholick Prince driven out of his owne Dominions, was hee that offered fairest *Ad rem Catholicorum in Hibernia restituendam*; Charles P. M. late Duke of *Lorraine a Caesar* in fortitude and Resolution, one of the greatest Captaines Europ had seen for som ages, a Prince, that by longe experience of crosses and Calamities

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mities made the world know, *Quod sciveris fortia agere, & fortia pati.*

To this Duke were sent from Ireland Anno 1651. *Stilo veteri* a Bishop & a Cavalier of high quality from the Clergy; and from the then *Vifroy* or Lord Deputy and the people a *Vifcount* and two noble Cavaliers, all able men and fitt to manage ſoe Important a buſineſs, as that was. The Duke received them with all aſability; and after a deliberation, and debate of ſome monthes, they proceeded to an agreement very advantageous to *Catholick Religion*, the king, and *Nation*; the ſum of this capitulation was, that his highneſs vndertook to warr vpon the Rebelling Parliament, to pay the Army and to furniſh Cannon and all war-like Amunition vntill the Kingdom were recovered; and thoſe vndertook in behalfe of the Nation to reimbours his highneſs, and to give him for Caution ſome townes; his Highneſs medled not at all with the civill government of the Kingdom, but only with the Militia, and was ingag'd to reſtore the Cautionary townes, his diſboursments being payd. The Duke advanced twenty thouſand piſtols in ready mony, fix thouſand therof went over with his Envoy the Abbot of *S. Catharin*, whoe tooke vp

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fourteen thousand more of the Marchants in *Irland*, which som was payd them in *Antwerp* by the *Dukes* order.

His Highness sent over two little vessels with Ammunition and Armes, which arrived, and two other little vessels were taken upon the Coast of *Britanie*; The whole came to som thirty thousand pistols, and was not this a Princely and magnificent liberality of a Duke then out of his owne Country? But let noe man wonder at this, it being naturall to the great *Dukes* of *Lorraine* to fight Battles for holy Religion, and the house of God in all extremities, and what other can be expected from Princes descending from *Godefray* king of *Hierusalem*? I should fill a vollume, if I should speak at large of his warlike feats and vallour, let the day and Battle of *Norlingham* alone speak, wherein were slaine 18000. *Swedes*; to his vallour and conduct was attributed a great share of this victory: *Pro verbo* in all encounters, hee play'd a souldiers part as well as that of a Captaine; *Et licet fuerit maximus Imperio militaris, fuit tamen major exempla fortitudinis*. This digression, and mention of his high exploits and fortitude, is a gratitude due from mee

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to his highness, who hath been a patron
and father to my Countrymen in their
exile; and confident I am God will poure
blessings abundantly vpon his gallant
Childe Prince de Vaudemont, and noe less
on his Nephew present Duke Charles of
Lorraine a Prince of great expectation, and
on the whole family a most glorious house,
that hath evermore defended and pro-
tected the Catholick Church.

To speak of the greatness, antiquity;
and splendor of the house of Lorraine is but
to hold a candle to the sunne; All Europ
knowes the puissance and piety of the
house of Guise (a branch of Lorraine) which
gave a Queen to Scotland Mary second wife
to King James the fifth, mother to Queen
Mary of Scotts (put to death in England
by Cruell Elizabeth) great Grandmother
To King Charles the second, by her right
hee is true Heire and King of the three
Kingdoms. There are other noble Families
in France, as D'ibouf, Maine, Ioyes, Har-
court, and many more, golden streames
flowing from theise fountaine the house of
Guise, (as that from Lorraine) those houses
have alsoe given most Excellent Heroes
and Captains, all of them ever true to
the

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the holy Church, and Loyall to their Princes, the most Christian Kings.

Soone after the a forsaide Capitulation was perfected, our King arriving at Paris, (after the defeat and Roote of his army at Worcester) the Duke demanded his Royall assent to the agreement hee had made with his Catholick subjects: the King heervpon cald together his counsell, (Ormond was one of them) for giving answer; they Iudg'd it noe way expedient, that the King should agree to what had past between the Duke and his subjects at Brussels; Which seemed strange to all that heard it, seeing noe Prince in Europ took part with our King, but the Duke alone. It seems this Counsell, (all compos'd of Protestants) would not have Ireland recovered by a Catholick Prince, they could by noe meanes agree with two Articles of the Capitulation, the one; that the Duke had been accepted by those contracted with him, for Protector Royall of the Nation, they were less troubled that Cromwell, who had murthered one King, and forced a nother (the Present King) out of his Dominions, should take all, then a most antient Catholick Duke and his Majestyes kinsman

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kinsman should bee stiled *Royall Protector of the Catholicks of Ireland*, whereas soon after *Cromwell* was over all *Europ* called *Protector of the three Kingdoms*.

The other displeasing *Article* was, that his *Highness* engag'd himselfe to restore *Catholick Religion* in *Ireland* in its splendor, and soe *Catholick* was the *Duke*, as hee chiefly took in hand our quarrell for making good this *Article*.

The *Capitulation* (from which wee hoped for preservation) being blasted in this *Kinda*, his *Majesty* Employed two *Envoyes* to the *Duke*, an *English Protestant Lord*, and *Sr. Henry de Visque* his *Majesties* then *Resident* in *Brussell*, with those the *King* returnd the *Duke* thanks by a *Kinda* letter for his care of his intrest, and desired him to treat with these new men; who were curteously receiv'd by his *Highness*; but at the second conference hee told them hee did not know what matter of *Capitulation* could pass between him and their maister, who had not at that tyme in his owne possession as much as one *Citty*, wal'd-towne, fort, or *Port* in his three *Kingdoms*; yet notwithstanding if his *Majesty* would bee pleas'd to consent to the *Articles* hee had perfected with the aforesaid *Catholick commissioners*,
hee

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hee would perform all of his part; which answer being not accepted by the Kings counsell, the Duke by a handson manifest soon after, discharg'd his owne honour from all blame and Impuration touching the forementioned Capitulation and agreement.

Be pleased my civill reader to consider the deplorable and ladd condition of the Catholics of *Ireland* at that tyme. Their spirituell fathers, the *Bishops*, and their Lower *Pastors* and the Religious men assisting them in the vyn-yard, were many of them sent into exile, (in one yeare fourteen *Bishops*) the *Noblemen* and all the *Catholick* gentry haled violently out of their owne houses, and lands, and shutt vp in a corner of a *Province* (naked and disarmed) either to be all murdered in one day, (there was a consultation of officers to that purpose, but they agree'd not, God would not have soe many Innocents Massacred at one tyme) or to perish in many dayes in famine, miseries, and servitude as many of them ended afterwards: The lawes prescrib'd to them, were cruell and Barbarous; if-any of them went to a sea-port or to any other *Province* without exprels order and licence, it was lawfull

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lawfull to kill them whersoever they were found; to keep a Musquett, sword, or any other weapon, or powder in a Catholicks house, was present death; to receive or harbor a priest, was alsoe death; and there was a nother thing as yet more bloody. They framed an ingagement to be taken by all sorts of men vpon oath, to obey the *Parlament*, and renounce the *King* and the family of the *Stuarts* for ever, and all tooke a ticket of having taken that ingagement, and poor men, that had not their tickets about them, were killd vpon the high way by the souldiers for not having it; these were the execrable Lawes the *Catholicks* then lin'd vnder. The *Lord of Ormond* had governed the *Catholicks* as the *Kings* Lord Lieutenant about those tymes, but when *Cromwell* came over, and like a lightning passed through the Land, taking in *Provinces*, wall'd *Townes*, and *Cittys*; hee never appear'd, never fought the Enemy, nor releev'd any place besieged; (truly wee found nothing in him of Counsell or fortitude) and when all was lost but two *Townes* and one *Province*, (which were soon after taken) hee past into *France*, and left the *Catholicks* to the butchery.

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The counsell by this meanes destroy'd the contract. And were not these Counsellors well affected to Catholicks, that vpon a serious deliberation would not have the *Catholicks* preserved, and protected by a *Catholick Prince*, but left to the mercy of *Cromwell* a bloody tyrant? The forwardest of all in doing this Mischief was *Ormond*; this was the Kindness to vs of that man ever fatall to *Catholicks*:

An Italian gave to a great person, whose qualitys hee knew well, this Character. *Inimicus gravissimus, & amicus levissimus*. Which may be well apply'd to *Ormond* in relation to *Catholicks*; his anger to them was still inplacable, and his Kindness sleight and vncertaine, his frindship, was a Court frindship, much like those druggs of Apothicaries, that are hott in the mouth, and cold in operation; what good and faire words did this Nobleman give to the *Catholicks* of *Island* when hee came from the *Queen* and *Prince* in the yeare 1648. To conclude a peace with them? the words in his mouth then, were hott and comfortable, but when they came to operation, they were indeed but rotten druggs.

After

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After this feat hee had don in *Paris*,
(the casting a way the Duke of *Lotanets*
Protection) hee was with the King in
the low countrys, and there hee dissembled
and tampered with the good plaine *Irish*,
and gave them good words and frindly
promises of doing them great good, if
God restor'd the King; the King was re-
stored, and *Ormond* turn'd his sailes and
playd another game, and stuck close to
Clarindon, that studied our Ruin, hee then
made a stepp further, and closed in great
Kindness with *Overy* & the *Crumwelians*; the
Catholicks claiming their owne landes
and estates produced good *Evidences*, *Injustice*
and *theirs Innocency*; (but those were of
little value with *Ormond*, and *Clarindon*;) *Overy* with his band of *Crumwelians* shew'd
gold and pretious gifts, and those proved
strong *Evidences*: *Ormond* then fell of clear-
ly from vs, and injured vs without all
feare, and commonly where there is noe
feare of revenge, ill given men have noe
conscience or feare of offending others;
with *Clarindon* all things were vendible,
and with *Ormond* all was lawfull, that
was not vnprofitable.

I present you with a wise fable, and I
think

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think to my purpose. (*) *Æsop* says. *Hæc mihi. (inquit vulpes rubo) confugi ad te tanquam ad auxiliatorem, sed tu pejus me traſtaſti: hæc tu (inquit rubus) erraſti, quæ me apprehendere voluiſti, qui omnes apprehendere ſoleo.*
 „ A laſs (ſaid the fox to the great bram-
 „ ble) I come flying to thee as to a ſhelter
 „ and friend: but thou haſt handled mee
 „ worſe then I was before: but the bram-
 „ ble ſaid, a laſs poor fox thou art a ſtray
 „ in taking gripe of mee, for thou knoweſt
 „ I ſcratch all that *Handels mee.*

My courteous reader, that *Ormond* hath allways been a great bramble cruelly ſcratching and tormenting the *Catholicks* of *Ireland*, this little booke, I put in your hand, will ſhow evidently. I have ſpent ſome houres of Leſure, God was pleas'd to afford mee about this little worke, wherein I ſet downe ſincerly the malice, craft, luglings, and flights, of thoſe, that have contriu'd our ruine; noe man will appeare vpon the ſtage ſoe often and frequently as *Ormond*, in acting his part in our Tragedy; this is the beſt account I can give to my Countermen of my longe ſilence in my ſolitude.

I know my owne weakneſs, and the
 (*) *Æſop* ſays. flow-

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slowness of my talent, but I had tyme at will for helping this; the snail comes to the topp of the hill in her due tyme, as well as the Eagle, and with tyme and straw (as they vse to speake) men ripen medlers, and soe doe men their affaires with leasure and meanes, and who will doe a thing well, must have patience to tarry till it may be well don; I had patience and leasure enough, and at length I have brought my designe to an end, whether it be well don or noe, I leave to the judgment of the impartiall reader. I gave notice of what was don to a *Doctor of devinity*, a person of *Emminent Learning*, and to other friends in *Paris*, they vrg'd mee with stronge lynes, to print all was don without delay: I alsoe writt to a venerable Prelate then living in *Flanders*, whose judgment I much esteemed, and the inviolable Amity between vs of a bove 45. yeares; hee quite beyond my expectation dissuaded the printing, and gave reasons that seemed sound, hee would not blame those pressed mee to the printing, nor judge ill of their intentions, but was of opinion, they had not rightly considered the more substantiall circumstances of the
matter,

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matter, and sayd, deare frind my advice in this point is. *Festina Lente*, hee suggested that regard should be had of Ormonds noble Catholick Ancestors, and specially of his Grand-father Walter Earle of Ormond, and of his owne pious parents, and of his Brother Mr. Richard Butler a Chavaliere of great devotion, and yet valliant in the face of his Enemy, and of his sisters, all of them vertuous Catholick Ladys; hee knew them all, and was well knowne to some of them: certainly I did not think this very reuerend church-man had been soe kinde to Ormond, his letter hee ended with these lynes.

My worthy frind, I beseech you bee as kinde to Ormond, as the overseer of the vyn-yard was to the figgtree in his charge, who, (when the Lord of the vyn-yard finding noe fruit in the tree as hee expected sayd in anger *Succide ergo illam &c.* Cutt downe this vnprofitable tree, why doth it stand heer and occupy the ground for nothing?) Answered (grieving the tree should be fallne,) I pray let the tree alone for a nother yeare, vntill I shall digg about it, and dung it, if it shall happily yield fruite, if not you shall cutt it downe. What can wee tell (sayd my frind) if Ormond may not

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as yet yield fruit, and comfort all those hee hath afflicted. Have therefore patience with him for a while, even for the vertue & piety of his very noble *Catholick* fore-fathers.

I yielded to this venerable persons Judgment, and suspended the printing from the yeare 1668. to this 1676. Waiting still what *Ormond* would doe, and if hee would relent, and become friendly to his Country; but all this tyme nothing is done: The great Lord of the vnyard findes noe Charity in him, hee is always the same, a hard harted-man, and our vnplacable enemy. Hee is still a high fig-tree, bearing great leaves of vanity, (but noe fruit) sucking vp the fatt and sapp of the earth, and thereby starving all the plants round about him, thousands of widowes, Orphans & Innocent soules; hee kept the heat of the sunne from vs all, (the kings mercy,) hee barred all Iustice to be don vs, and the generall pardon to be extended to vs, (wee only have been excepted and excluded from that Grace by this Noble mans cunning cruelty.) Wee have dig'd about him to longe, and spent our dung in vaine, *Ormond* will yield noe fruit; (hee is a *Babylon* will not be cured,) *God* hath

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borne longe with his doing evill, hee hath longe held his peace, but hee will not hold his peace still; hee will in the end cutt downe in his anger this high sterill tree, vnworthy to stand any longer vpon earth; and for his sin and cruelty against his country and nation, will likely pull downe his house and generation, which wee noe way desire.

I make heer a sincere protestation before God and men, that I contend not against this *Noblemans* person or dignity, I honour his noble *Catholick* house, and soe much care I have of his soule, as I am ready to shed my blood for doing him good that way; my minde therfore is, to deliver his artifices, perfidie, revenging minde, and rankor against my Nation, which I will doe plainly and faithfully, without art and passion; thinking in my minde it will redound to *Gods glory* to vex this Childe of pride, that hath vexed and persecuted soe longe, and soe sharply thousands of *Gods humble Children*, and brought them to distruction. I put an end to this preface letting fly an arrow at *Ormond* (a sharp-ended one) out of the *Prophets Quiver*,
(*) *In the land of the holy bee hath done wicked things, and hee shall not see the glory of our Lord.*

(*) *Isai cap. 26.*

The Advertisment, of a true patriot to
the Reader.

MY father (Well knowne in the country bee
laud in) was pleased to send mee a broad
Anno 1637. (three yeares before the Irish warr)
to be bred vp in vertus and learning, and I
made by Gods blessing that progress in my studies,
at I came to a convenient fortune, which I am
to Enjoy all my life: soe as I never intend to
returne to my country, and yet I cannot im-
mature but love the people, and hartily lament
theire woes, calamitys, and vsupportable servitude.
Demaunding from those exiled the present state
of the Nation, they all told mee, ther was nothing
to be seen at home, but Luctus & pavor, men
woemen, infants, widowes, and orphans, all
squallid, naked, languishing and even dying
with famine; Proh dolor: denigrata est super
carbones facies eorum & non sunt cogniti in
plateis, adhæsit cutis ossibus eorum. And all
this tyme I saw none would speake the horrid in-
jurys the Nation suffered. At length I saw a small
book bearing this title. A narrative of the settle-
ment and sale of the Kingdom of Ireland by
the Earle of Clarindon printed Anno 1660.
There came out Anno 1674. a little treatise stiled,
The Bleeding I phigenia, an excellent piece,
chiefly against Clarindon & Orrery our capitall
Enemys. But this last discourse called. The vn-
kinde desertor of Loyall men & true frinds,

(The Author I have never seen nor knowne)
proving clearly Ormond to have been the greatest
Enemy the Nation ever had , (all men say the
same) is the most excellent thing of all I saw , sound
and well ordered , full of truth , strong in sence , &
containing faire & Christian documents , by which
the author hath for ever oblig'd the whole Nation .
This man tells the King freely , that suffering him-
self to be deluded by ministers of ill meaning ,
(chiefly Clarindon & Ormond) they took the &
pertinacity like two whales & monsters of Avarice
& cruelty to devour his faithfull subjects ; wherfore
hee pittisfully complaines , that justice was not don
to the oppressed .

Even with Pagans the opinion of sanctity and
Justice in theire King was great . Magnus Cyrus
non censebat convenire cuiquam imperium ,
qui non melior esset eijs , quibus imperaret .
Mexicanorum autem mos erat , qui quoties
regem aliquem novum inaugurarent , Ius-
jurandum ab illo postulabant , quod Iustitiam
esset administraturus , non oppressurus subdi-
tos ; futurus in bello fortis ac strenuus :
curaturusque denique , vt sol cursum suum ac
splendorem retineret , nubes largirentur plu-
vias , fluvij manarent aquis ; & terra suos pro-
ferret fructus . And a nother Author says . Annus
bonus non tam de bonis fructibus , quam de iuste reg-
nantibus est existimandus . God grant to all Chri-
stian Kings to rule with Justice & peace , Amen .



THE FIRST CHAPTER

*The long silence the Irish Catholicks
had with Ormond (Since the
king's comminge in) did
redound much to
theyr losse.*

TO know when to speake, and when to be silent, is a commendable vertue: Salomon the wisest of men, taught this lesson to men in thes words. *Tempus est tacendi*, and *tempus loquendi* he begun with *tempus tacendi*, and his reason was, *quia veritas (inquit legis-lator) primo tacendo discitur, postea docendo predicatur*, truth is first learned by silence, next published by teaching. Socrates that famous Grecian, *sapientissimus hominum* pronounced by the Oracle, did much commend Silence vnto his disciples, and with great

great reason, in as much as there is greater wisdom, and lesse danger in being silent, then in speaking; wherefore *Symonides* one of the wisest men of his owne time, was often heard to say, *loquutum me esse dolui sapere, tacuisse nunquam*, often have I repented to have spoken, never for having hold my peace; notwithstanding all the great encomis of *Silence*, celebrated by soe many wise *Sages* in all tymes, nevertheless a long and vnseasonable *Silence*, is, and may be as blameable, as the other is recommendable.

To be *Silent* and hould my peace when an open injurie is don to my *Religion*, *countrie* and *Parents*, is neither wisdom pietie, nor *vertue* to be commended; this is, and hath been (as I perceave) the long *Silence* the *Catholicks* of *Irland*, had with the Lord *Duke* of *Ormond* giving him both time and leasure, to worke theyr ruine and downfall, without preventing the same (in a just forme and seasonable time) by theyr instant adresses, to the king, councel, or any else.

We have kept a longer *Silence* (to our great detriment) then *Pythagoras* his scholars have don, theyr *Silence* was limited to
five

five yeares only , before theyr publick *Tentamen* in schoole, for the performance of which *Magister dixit*, was sufficient to them; but we , poore soules ! have been silent neer now vpon thirteen yeares , suffering with all patience the open wrongs , and manifest *Detriments* this Noble-man have don vs , soe that vnder the notion of a friend, we discovered him at long-running to be our open enemy.

The same *Ormond's* speech (soone after the kings happie restauration) to *Orrery*, *Montbrath*, *Clothworthy*, *Mervin*, & such others of that fortunat tribe , have been in this nature , *Omnes bestia agri venite ad devorandum* (nempè *Iberniam*) *Univerſa bestia saltus*. All yee beasts of the field come to devoure (he means *Ireland*) All yee beasts of the Forrest. What were we doing ? Where have we been ? Or what became of our senses at that time when *Ormond* convoked thos men to devoure vs ? We were all of vs in a deepe *Silence* , much like men in a fatal lethargie , soe as the words of the same prophet may be properly said of us *Speculatores ejus* (id est *Ibernix*) *cæci omnes , nescierunt Univerſi* , *canes muti non valentes latrare*, *videntes vana*, *dormientes*, & *amantes somnia*,
hey

her watch-men all blind haue been ignorant: dumb
 doggs not able to bark seeynge vain things, sleeping
 and loving dreams: truly wee were all much
 like bewitched people, dotinge upon a man,
 that loued us not, and like men dreaming
 vain dreams; our Bishops, and church-
 men (lett these venerable persons giue me
 leave to speake my sentiment) our Bishops
 I lay, and Cleargymen, were but *canes muti
 non valentes latrare*. I did not see, nor hea-
 re of any in that numerous congregation
 (a monghst whom there haue been several
 learned and wise men) that haue written
 any thinge to this purpose, in characteri-
 zing (as they should haue don) this great
 man, and his craftie designs to the pub-
 lick ruine, exceptinge one of the diuines
 (that then attended upon the Ecclesiastical
 congregation of whom mention was made in
 our preface) who composed a substantial,
 and solid peece replenished with uncontrou-
 lable reasons, justifying, the just rejection of
 that peace, made and agreed, in the king-
 dom's behalfe (by certain Commissioners)
 with *Ormond* in the yeare 1646. this rejection
 of that peace *Ormond* takes for *petra scandali*,
 and as a dishonour (forsooth) to his per-
 son, soe that, from that day to this houre
 he hath been, and is still an open enemie

to the Bishops of Irland and Cleargy ; this divine that I speake off, did in a sober and modest stile plainly set foorth what *Ormond* did intend , and said nothings in all that peece but what was just and reasonable as now more clearly we see ; this worke came to my hands , and haue perused, it with much attention , out of wch I haue collected partly some light for my furtherance in this present tractat, and now behold the Bishops (at that time exiled in this Kingdom, to whose Iudgment he submitted that worke) would not haue this wel studied peece to see either presse, or light, in soe much, that those *elucubrations*, and labours were set a side and rendred uselesse and fruitlesse to the Nation.

I doubt not but the prelats intended wel, though otherwise fell out, for they were still in a charitable hope and expectation that *Ormond* in time would *Relent*, and doe the nation good, but they, and millions besides theyr Lordships, haue been mistaken in *Ormond*, whose indignation more and more daylie increasing (not satisfied in the extremities of our woes and calamities) seems rather to rejoyce in the *continuation* of our afflictions, and *annihilation* of our persons , then to giue any signe of relentment
or

or hopes of any good; a glorie without honour.

Never did any Magician charme with spels, or philtérs any sort of men, more then this *Ormond* did that harmeleffe people, by what art, or *fascination* is to me unknowne.

In Londen soe wonderfull was the veneration my Countre-men had to this great man's person, and soe great was theyr zeale to please, and loath in the least to displease him, as even when some begun to apprehend feares and jelousies of his sinistrous proceedings, perceaving things not to goe as they expected, yet not with standing they scarce durst mutter theyr to well grounded feares and suspitions each unto an other, and this continued for a long time, every man was, *sicut mutus non aperiens os suum* in the cause of Religion and countrie, though they haue seen evidently his daylie heapinge of injuries upon the nation: nay some were soe starck blind, and slumbred upon this fatal Duke, as even after he possessed wrongfully theyr estates and fortunes, they were construing all to the best, and supposing some deep misterie of pietie in the man, and yet could giue noe reason for such theyr vain conjectures and hopes;

some in theyr priuat discourses (as if they were deluded by fiends and specters) wth imagin some future good Ormond would doe the nation, this epidemical dimmis and stupiditie attached the judgment and braines soe firmly of many, that severall of them could not be perswaded but Ormond would as yet giue them a day of rejoycement and happines; I haue been much amazed, and noe lesse perplext, after seeyng and hearing some of theyr silly and simple expressions, pronounced in theyr privat confabulations in London, and letter's from that cittie to the parts much to this effect, Ormond (said one) will never betray us, he'il never shrink from us, he is our owne, his intentions are good; an other said, Ormond is to Noble to doe soe base an act, it is not his Kinde to doe unworthie things, his father and Mother, (quoth the third man) were constant true Catholicks, (that is indeed true) was not I beseech you, his grand-father (said the fourth man) walter earle of Ormond, for his devotion stiled walter of the beads and rosarie? will the child of soe good, soe godly, and vertuous progenitours, deceave the confidence, wee his countreymen doe place in him? noe, it cannot be; happie are we that he is soe great with his Maiestie, for abough he seems at present some what cold towards us, and to shake hands with Orrery and the rest of
the

the Cromwellian faction, yet his heart however is with us, and for us, he may for a time favour their wayes, but to stick for good and all to such men, rebellious enemies to the King, and to him selfe, is a thing I can not beleene, for you must know that Ormond is a wise man, a great politician; you shall see in time how handsomely he will wind himselfe out of their clauves.

These and such like idle Sermocinations was their discourse, but alack! thes wise men did but flatter them selves and the time with such frivolous thoughts and conjectures, grounding the fundation of their future prosperitie in Ormond's affection to the nation, and his special care of their preservation, which was in good earnest but to raise their building upon a fundation of sands, or as I may say to build castels in the ayre; but *serò sapient Phryges*, the web is dispelled that couered ouer our eyes, we can, *tandem*, see something, and much like thos that rested long under the *luniper* tree (whose shadow is both noxious and grivous to nature) when they a wake, feele a violent head-ach; soe we, hauing slept and slumbred long (without due care to our owne preservation) under the noxious shadow of Ormond's apparent affections, at last *experected*, and hauing opened our eyes, we find our head, heart,
and

and whole body in a far worse distemper then they that laid under the *Juniper* tree; our feauer is mounted to a heetical height, partly by our owne carelesness, and cheefly by the improper administration of our physitian *Ormond*, who instead of salutiferous potions, deluded us with poyson; This Noble man haue poysoned (as I may say) the heart of us all (I mean of his Majestie) with *toxical* counsels, and *fallacious* informations against us, soe as this poyson possessing the vitals, we are faintinge and must of need perish, if the *antidot* cordials of his Majestie's goodness, in whom, next to god as the fontaine of mercy and justice, we place all trust and hope, will not afford us life and comfort, which antidot cordials haue been hitherto (as is evidently Knowne) unjustly detained from us, by the suggestions of *Ormond* and *Clarindon*.



CHAPTER II.

*A diligent Search off the motifs and reasons,
induced Ormond to forsake (since the
kings restauration) the Catholicks
of Island, and to stick to the
Cromwelians.*

WE are now to search out the motifs induced Ormond to abandon the Catholicks, and cause moved him to this suddain separation; whether by ill chance, the catholicks plotted against his life; person, libertie, or fortunes; or whether they withdrew first from him, or haue given any occasion or offence sufficient to compel him to such a repentinous mutation; or whether it was the king's interest (for the better settlement of that kingdom under the crowne) made him fasten hands with them new men, and forsake the old stead-fast friends?

There is noe man will belecue that soe noble a person, soe compleat a states-man, soe much esteemed in court and cittie for gallantrie, and honour, a man soe much cried up for his integritie, and good nature

ture, to be the *paramount* of thousand, as all his friends (in the beginning of his power) gaue out of him, then when he begun to haue dealing with the confederat catholicks; there is not a man, I say would beleeue that à person of such unparaelled parts, would deflecte soe nastilie in that nature from them without some efficacious ground, and reason.

This unexpected *catastrophe*, as it suggested matter of admiration to all sort of people, soe it hath struken even dumb his neere relations, and thes his friends, that most dearly respected him, in soe much as they durst not speake one woord in defence of this his *instabilitie*; I am confident his grace wanted not such persons, his close sticklers, men skil'd both in the english and latten letters (wch formerly with heat and zeale were in a readinesse to maintaine, by hooke, or crooke, with apparent and seeming *ratiocinations* his *sinistrus* doeyngs, faults, and faylings) now in this matter they dare not appeare to iustifie his running away from the camp of *israel*, to the *phylistin's* field, from the association and amitie of honourable and honestly true men (the kings good subjects, and his owne steadfast friends) to à cromwelian faction, that

that heald out soe long in bloody rebellion against the crowne and royal family ; even father *Wylsh* himselfe (who beyound all mortals Sacrifices himselfe to *Ormond* , and who have written soe much of that Noble mans constancie , vertues , and supereminent talents) sits now mute , and silent , he sayes nothing , gives not a word *in vindication* of his great patron's *defection* from his friends , alliances , and counciemen ; I perceive the fathers mind and the cause of his silence in this matter , he knowes it is hard for him , *invita Minerva , & pessima existente causa* to lay hand to his pen.

His Grace , the duke himselfe is sensible , there are several inducing and obliginge reasons , for continuing his affection (if he had been soe pleased) and association with the catholicks of *Ireland* ; as may be , the antiquitie , greatnets , and Catholick pietie of his familie , and renowned *Ancestours* for soe many hundred yeares in that Kingdom. of *Ireland* his vast patrimonie , the Noble houses of two Viscounts , three Barrons , and great number of rich , and worthie families of Knights , and Esquires descended lineally from his pedigree , that his Noble brother *Mr. Richard Butler* , his vertuous sisters , gallant Ladies , were borne in that land ,

E

and

and have theyr estates and beeing therin , add to this the alliance of several other peers of the land to his familie; all which are undeniable and strong inducements, powerful to move , and bind such a person , or any other to love the Catholicks of *Ireland* and closely fasten unto them, in all theyr just concernments, and undertakings.

In this place I would faine Know , what had *Orrery*, *Monbrath*, and the rest of that crue to doe with the house of *Ormond* ? did there by good lucke intervene at any time tuixt theyr families and his , any concatenation of marriages ? any relation of consanguinitie ? any firme connection of unstained friendship ? not that euer I could heare off ; but all to the contrarie , well Knowne they were his deadly enemies , and stared with an envious eye vpon his *Lustre* and *Splendour* , wholike unto a *procerous Cedar* they perceaved did overtopp them selves.

His Grace (I suppose) will not say he deserted the Catholicks (whose loyaltie to the crowne of *England* have been sufficiently Knowne, even to the very rebells themselves) to joyne in friendship, with these freash men (but stale rebells) for better advancing and securing his Majesties interest ? certainly a man of my lord's Iudgement

ment (as I am confident) wth blush to pretend any such excuse , or to say foe : my lord of right should a gon with more moderation in foe waightie a matter , and nicely ponder (before pacting friendship with them) whether or noe (they that have been for foe many yeares , fyrie and sworne enemies to the King and crowne) would at long triall prove worthie of his amitie , or of any other man's else , that had been still faithfull and loyall to the King and crowne ; this my lord neglected to have don , but rather , by his *repentinous conjunction* of friendship wth those well approved and trustie ministers of *Cromwel* , gave occasion to several wise men to suspect , and thinke that *Ormond* did not much in heart *averse Cromwel* , nor dislike of his proceedings , and that which we doe wonder at , is , that all this while we could not see , nor heare by mouth or pen any *apologie* from this good duke , that may give the world satisfaction for his foe doeing.

In my opinion his Grace had good reason to be silent in this matter , and to conceale from the eyes , and eares of men , the cunning motifs , slights , and *arcana's* that pushed him on : for to manifest his reasons , were *manifestare errores inexcusabiles suos*. Seeing

then that heerin my lord duke is pleased to be silent; J hope his Grace will give the looser leave to speake, and discover to the world the reasons deduced his Grace from the right roade of vertue, justice, pietie, and honnour, (deserting his trustie old friends) to kint vnexpected new sudden friendship, with his old enemies; it is to well Knowne to our woe-full experience, he made the worst use a christian noble man could have don, of the power he had from his majestie, in order to the catholick interest of *Ireland* striving; constantly and musing how to subvert, and suppress equitie and justice to our destruction, which have been the cheefest ground induced him to this association, with the Cromwelians, that at once, and along with them he may plunder our houses, fortunes, and estates; and soe really it fell out, for of all men he had the fattest, fayrest, and greatest share.

The greatness of his person cannot terrifie me from apearin for my countrie, and countrie-men, nor from speaking clearly, freely, and plainy the truth, if in case I shall speake, or write any thinge ungroundedly I shall desire some of his learned sticklers take the paynes to answer for him, and ~~consiste~~ *consiste* me, if he can; (we know his lordship

ship hath more **Hierelings**, **parasits**, and **flaterers**, then true friends, and I beleeve his Grace will find my saying to be true, affore he dyes; for it will be but the just judgment of god, that he, who deserted his honest and true friends, should be deserted by all; I could hartily wish in the meane time he had in him these true vertues, that would both merit, and deserve true friends.

For compassing what I haue taken in hand, the right doore and *ingresse* to my discourse, must be a true and naked relation of *Ormonds* dealings and transactions, with the Catholicks of *Irland* since the first *unfortunat* day they Knew him; this will make the reader Know what manner of man he was, and is, whether of vertue, or vice, love or hatred to the Catholicks of *Irland*; all wch I wil endeavour Succinctly, with candid veritie (soe save me God) to performe, crauing from my benevolous reader the patience off perusing all with attention, and to Suspend his Iudgment till Fully instructed of all that past.

It is not my present intent to stand vpon iustificyng the reuolution and warr of that Kingdom, begun the yeare 1641. to which they were forcibly compelled; I haue understood that matter is performed ala re dy and soundlie to the

purpose, by a skilfuller quill then myne: my present scope is, and will be, to have the reader Know what *Ormond* did in that warr, and after the warr, and soe I dout not but the reader will be able to passe a free and impartiall Iudgment vpon his Grace, and me; and next whether his desertinge of the catholicks, and *combining* with the new men, is or can be Iustifiable and excusable:

To this therefore effect, the reader may understand, that the now duke, (then Earle) of *Ormond*, at the beginning of this warr, was leutenant General of the Kings forces under the lords justices, *St. William Parsons* and *St. John Burlace*; I passe by how he demeaned him selfe in that high post, either shewing enimitie to the Catholicks, or desiring the revolution should be suppressed: (some say he was for the suppressing off it) let us suppose he did what became a man placed in that office he had, and leave that soe:

CHAPTER III.

*Heere is shewen how Ormond was
chosen lord lieutenant, and his
several cessations made with
the confederat catholicks, and
vast summes of monys
receaved to transport over
souldiers for his majesties;
service.*

This sr. *William parsons* a could, rigid,
and wise-man, but an inveterat ene-
mie to the catholicke religion and
Catholicks, at once with Sr. *Adam Loftus*, Sr.
Robert Merideth, Sr. *Iohn Temple*, and others of
the council became much addicted to the
House of commons in *England* (which hou-
se began at that time to contest and be at
variance with the King) and in good faith
made noe other use of his Majesties power
and Sword of Iustice in that Kingdom, then
to increase and kendle (rather then quench)
the flame of that revolution, which they
caled

caled a rebellion; heere you are to observe,
 that the said lords Iustices and above speci-
 fied counsellours, though they were disloyal
 and perfidious to the King, yet the false
 and *pernicious* relations thes knaves gave,
 and divulged by proclamations of the *Irish*,
 that the vniversalitie of the Catholicks of
Ireland got up into a new rebellio (whereas for o-
 ne Catholick that was engaged in that revo-
 lution, there were thousands in the natio knew
 nothing off it, even the nobilitie, citties, and
 gentrie of the nation were soe) they were easily
 beleeeved in that theyr false and *Malicious* as-
 persion; soe that his Majestie did noe lesse
 call and esteeme us rebelles, then the House
 of commons in *England* did; these men's dis-
 affection to the King, and theyr *Treacherie*,
 beyng at length discovered, his Majestie
 recalled theyr commissions, and appointed
Ormond lord lieutenant of the Kingdom: af-
 ter his Excellencie was invested with this new
 commission and power, the parlament of
England more and more growing stroung
 in hostilitie against the King, and declaring
 open warr to his Majestie, (which was plain
 rebellion, not like the painted rebellion of
Ireland) his Excellency, who had at that timo
 trustie friends in the Councel of the confeder-
 rat

rat Catholicks , treated with the assembly
of said Catholicks , and in their absence ,
with the foresaid Councel for a *Cessation* of
armes between his Partie and theirs ; to which
the Catholicks did Freely and willingly
consent , and to that effect graunted and
paied over to my lord Lieutenant thirty
thousand and eight hundred pounds ster-
ling for to transport over into *England* so-
me of the Kings Forces , to Supresse the re-
bellion in that Kingdom ; this free speedy ,
and loyall contribution of soe vast a sum-
me of monies , in soe seasonable a time ,
to furnish and pay the Kings souldier against
the rebells of *England* , was noe signe of re-
bellious hearts in the Catholicks. As for
what these forces ferried over did there ,
whether they beat the rebells , or were
beaten , is not my subject in hand ; I come
to my lord of *Ormond* , who for some yeares
continued his capitulations , and treatings
with the Catholicks of *Irland* , and did in-
deed wijre-drawe them to theyr great los-
se , both to the dishartning of their souldiers ,
consumption of their treasures , and let-
ting slip great advantages of service ; great
matters we expected from *Ormond* , and noe
lesse did our Commissioners tell us ; that

he was ready to condescend to our demands, and graunt us good things, but in the end litle or nothing was don ; not withstanding all this, any thing that seemed to be with the Kings interest, or for the Kings service did much relish with the Catholicks, and soe desirous and forward we were to make peace with any party the King owned to be his owne, as we omitted to pursue vigorously a good warr, and at long running wee made noe good peace for libertie, Religion, Fortunes, or honour of the Nation .

CHAP. IIII.

*Glanmorgans peace rendered
voide by the Kings disa-
vowing any authoritie given
to that effect*

Twice we concluded peace by our Commissioners, the one off which have been with the Earle of *Glanmorgan*, and the other with *Ormond* : and in fin wee had neither peace, nor the assurance of a peace; the said Earle of *Glanmorgan*, shewed us
under

under the privat signet a faire and large commission he had from the King , authorizing him to conclude a peace with us , and to graunt us such favourable concessions for religion , as *Ormond* the Kings Lieutenant (who also had a comission under the great seale) could not Publickly graunt , or be seen in ; this peate made with *Glanmorgan* became voyd and of noe force , the King disavowing any power given to that effect vnto *Glanmorgan* : you shall find the Kings disavowing of any such power in his booke , commonly caled , *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ* , pag : the 29 : : in a message given (as it is written) in our court at Oxford the 29 Iann : 1645. to the speaker of the house of Peeres pro tempore , to be communicated to the two houses of Parliament at westminster , and to the commissioners of the Parliament in Scotland.

His Majesties message of Ian-
 uary 29. 1645. about Irland ,
 and his Majesties further
 Concessions, and desire of
 a personal treaty; Ox-
 ford.

C : R :

His Majestie having received information from
 the lord Lieutenant and Councel in Irland ,
 that the Earle of Glanmorgan hath , without his
 or their orders or prinitie , entered into a treaty
 with some Commissioners on the Roman Catholick
 partie there, and alsoe drawne up and agreed un-
 to certain articles with the said Commissioners
 highly derogatory to his Majesties honour, and roy-
 al dignitie, and most prejudicial unto the pro-
 testant religion and church there in Irland :
 whereupon the said Earle of Glanmorgan is arrested
 upon suspicion of high treason , and imprisoned by
 the said lord Lieutenant and Councel, at the instance
 and by the impeachment of the lord Digby, who (by
 reason of his place and former employment in these
 affaires) doth best know how contrarie that proceeding of
 the said Earle hath been to his Majesties intentions
 and

and directions ; what great prejudice it might bring to his affaires , if those proceedings of the Earle of Glanmorgan should be any way understood to have been done by directions , liking or approbation of his Majestie having in his former messages for a personal treaty offered to give contentment to his two Houses in the business of Irland , hath now thought fitting , the better to shew his clearer intentions , and to give satisfaction to his two Houses of Parliament , and the rest of his subjects in all his Kingdoms , to send his declarations , to his said houses , containing the whole truth of the business which is.

That the Earle of Glanmorgan having made offer unto his Majestie to raise forces in the Kingdom of Irland , and to conduct them into England for his Majesties service , had a commission to that purpose , and to that purpose only.

That he had noe commission at all to treat of any thing else , without the privitie , and direction of the lord Lieutenant , much lesse to Capitulat any thing concerning religion ; or any propertie belonging either to Church or Laity.

That it clearly appears by the lord Lieutenants proceedings with the said Earle , that he had noe notice at all of what the said Earle had treated , and pretended to have capitulated with the Irish , untill by accident it came to his knowledge.

And his Majestie doth protest, that untill such time, as he had advertisement, that the person of the said Earle of Glanmorgan was arrested, and restrained (as is above said) he never heard, nor had any kind of notice, that the said Earle had entered into any kind of treaty or capitulation with the Irish commissioners: much lesse that he had concluded or signed these articles soe destructive both to Church and State, and soe repugnant to his Majesties pub'ick professions, and knowne resolution.

And for the further vindication of his Majesties honour and integritie heerin, he doth declare, that he is soe far from considering any thing contained in those papers, or writings framed by the said Earle, and those commissioners with whom he treated, as he doth absolutely disavow him therein, and hath given commandements to the lord Lieutenant and the Council there, to proceed against the said Earle, as one, who either out of falseness, presumption, or folly, had soe hazarded the blemishing of his Majesties reputation, with his good subiects, and soe impertinently framed those articles of his owne head, without the consent, privitie or directions of his Majestie, or the lord Lieutenant, or any of his Majesties Council there; but true it is, that for the necessarie preservation of his Majesties protestant subiects in Ireland, whose case was dayly represented unto him to be soe desperat, his Majestie

ſie have given commission to the lord Lenteuant to treat and conclude ſuch a peace there, as might be for ſafety of that Crowne, the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and noe way derogatory to his owne honour and publick profeſſions.

You ſee plainly by this his Majesties diſfavowig letter of any power given to *Glanmorgan*, as to the effect of peace to be concluded with the confederat Catholicks, how *Glanmorgans* peace came to nothing, and of noe validitie, though much labour, paines and monnies it coſt to the confederat Catholicks; and not without great diſcredit to the ſaid Earle. As for the peace made with *Ormond* yeare 1646. (who had the Kings commission vnder the great ſcale) it had noe better iſſue then the former, as ſhal be made cleare out of the aboue ſpecified divine his writings, reaſons, arguments, and woords as they are put downe.

And in as much as the Biſhops and Clergy their oppoſition to that peace, hath drawne vpon them the implacable anger of *Ormond*; peruſing what I ſhall write, you ſhal be able to iudge the reaſons given by the Prelats were valid, and themſelves honeſt in their intentions, and vpright in their
pro-

proceedings, and that they haue done nothing but what pietie, and the obligation of their pastoral care did require; consequently yon will graunt that the dukes anger, and rancour came by noe offence given by the Bishops, but through his owne heightie mind, which in all matters, and in all occasions must rule and domineere, or will have peace, nor quietness with any man; this matter comprehending many parts, arguments, and circumstances, I shal be forced to bestow more time about it.

It fell out soe, that the confederat Catholics appointed certain persons of qualitie as Commissioners of treaty (they appointed others for preparing instructions for those that were to treat, whom they named commissioners of instructions) to treat and conclude a peace with *Ormond* then lord Lieutenant; this was done in the yeare 1644. the names of those appointed, were *Richard* lord viscount of *Mongaret*, *Donogh* lord viscount of *Musgrie*, *Sr. Robert Talbot* Baronet, *Dermot o Brien*, *Patrick Darcy*, *Geffery Browne*, and *Iohn Dillon* Esquires. After a long debate vpon neare two yeares, a peace was at length concluded between them and his Excellency the lord Lieutenant, confi-

sitting of thirty articles , which articles (after being perfected , duely and maturely examined by vnderstanding and learned men) were suspected vn safe for the Catholicks ; this is the subject the mentioned divine handled and soundly Proved , and vpon the same occasion learnedly justified the rejection of that peace out of the arguments , and decrees of the Ecclesiastical congregation.

CHAP: V.

The rejection of the peace of 1646, made by the Bishops and Cleargy at Waterford maintained and justified ; which peace was alsoe voyd for being perfected without authority of Ormond's part.

THis author sayes , the Bishops and Cleargy allarmed at the publication of the said peace in *Dublin* , and *Kilkenme* , and obedience the Citizens and other natives

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gave therunto, (they saw the Gouvernement was devolved, the supreme Councell of the Nation dissolved, and the forces and armies, and all to be put into the hands of said Ormond lord Lieutenant; the peace (as above was said) being not secure for the cheefest concernements of the Catholicks) convened and came together at *Waterford* (a noble and Catholick Cittie) the sixt of August 1466. the zeale of Gods house, and of theyr flocks soe requiring, to consider seriously the contents of the Articles of said peace, and accordingly to determine, as pietie and the safty of Religion, and thir flocks would require at their hands.

The method (said the Author) the Bishops and Cleargy observed in rejecting said Peace, and the order of their consultations, was grave, and yet free, giving every divine licence to argue, discourse, and deliver his opinion as to the question proposed; the Chancelour of the congregation taking in the meane time his notes in writing of every mans sense and sentence of the question ventilated, and after a full debate, repeting viva voce, the substance of the arguments; they voted with much tranquillitie a result or conclusion, and indeed soe much was said to every of these articles that came under debate as nothing was left unsaid, that could be pertinent.

A love

A love Princifium was the begining of this Congregation, they publickly sacrificed and prayed with flaming Charitie, and profound humilitie, demanding from God light and wisdom in this most important affaire that soe touched holy Religion and his divine worship; that he would be pleased to give a blessing to their worke there: and for the better guiding their Consciences, they seriously perused.

First the oath of association (the rule of warr and peace with the confederat Catholics,) which could not be contravened by any without perfidiousness, and impietie.

2. The model of Gouvernement.

3. Several remonstrances printed in *France*, the yeare 1642. Fourthly, our greivances presented at *Tryme*, *March*, the 17. 1642. Fifthly, the several acts and protestations made by the Kingdom in open assembly at *Kilkennie* in the mounths *July* and *August* 1645. for the liberties and splendour of Religion, and for the Churches. Sixtly, the 17. propositions exhibited to his Maestie, yeare 1644. Seaventhly, the further addition and propositions after propounded to the lord Marques of *Ormond*.

All these things they examened with great de-

deliberation , and attention , being the rules laid downe by the whole Kingdom for regulating the committie of treaty , as alſoe the committie of inſtructions for the ſaid treaty , and all others to whom any charge was intruſted.

They began with the important propoſitions the committie of treaty for the peace , were to preſent vnto the Lord Marqueſ of *Ormond* Lieutenant Generall of *Irland*, for and in behalfe of the confederat Catholicks of *Irland*, for concluding a peace: thoſe propoſitions were the cheefe rules they were bound to obſerve in that treaty.

1. One *propoſition* was , that the Roman Catholicks both Cleargy and Laity haue and enjoy the free and publick exerciſe of the Roman Catholick Religion throughout that Kingdom , as it was in the raigne of *Henry* the 7. or any other Catholick King his predeceſſours Kings of *England*, and Lords of *Irland*, had either in *England* or *Irland*.

2. That the ſecular roman Cleargy of *irland*, viz: Primats, Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Ordinaries, Deans , and Chapter, Archideakens, and other dignitaries , Perſons, Vicars , and all other Paſtors of the ſecular Cleargy , and their reſpective ſucceſſours , ſhall have and
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enjoy all and every of them all manner of jurisdictions, priviledges, and immunities in as full and ample manner as the Roman Catholick Cleargy had or enjoyed within this Realme at any time during the raigne of the late King Henry the 7. of *England* and Lord of *Irland*, any declaration of law, laws, statute, power or any authoritie to the contrarie not with standing.

3. That all laws and statutes made since the time of King *Henry* the 8. whereby any restreinght, penaltie, mulct, or incapacitie, or other restriction what-soever is or may be laid vpon any of the Roman Catholicks, either of the Cleargy, or laity, for such the said exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion within this Kingdom, and of their severall functions, jurisdictions, and Priviledges, may be repealed, revoked, and declared voyd in the next Parliament by one or more acts of parliament to be passed therein.

4. That the Primats, Bishops, Archbishops, Ordinaries, Deans, and Chapters, Archdeacons, Chancelours, Trealurers, Chanters, prevoists, Guardians of Collegial Churches, Prebendaries, and other dignitaries Persons, Vicars, and other Pastors
of

of the Roman Catholick Cleargy and their respective Successours shall have, hould, and enjoy all the Churches and Church livings inas large and ample manner as the late Protestant Cleargy respectively enjoyed the same in the first day of *Septem. 1641*, together with all their rights, profits, emoluments, perquisits, liberties to their respective Seas, and Churches belonging as well in all places now in the possession of the confederat Catholicks, as alsoe all other places that shall be recovered by the confederat Catholicks, from the adverse partie within this Kingdom saving to the Roman Catholick Lanty, and their respective rights ackording to the lawes of the land.

The Roman Catholick Regular Cleargy of the Kingdom were to have and hould the Bodyes, sites, and precincts of their Abbeyes, Monasteries, and churches &c.

These foure propositions were sworne by the Confederat Catholicks in a general Assembly to be insisted vpon, and obtained vpon any treaty of peace, otherwise that they would not lay downe their armes while they had power and abilitie to maintaine the warr. Now said foure Propositions or matters

ters (soe sworne to be insisted vpon) were not granted in the 30 Articles of 1646, (as above is cleare and manifest) nor as much as presented or vrged , as the Commissioners themselves did confess , which seemes a breach of trust in those of the Commitie of Treaty , who were obliged to present and vrge said propositions ; certaine I am that one of the most vnderstanding of that Commitie tould me , it was but meere folly to present and offer them , for that *Ormond* was noe way content to consent , o give way to them , nor even to *Glanmorgan's* concessions it selfe , which were of far lesser importance for Religion ad Nation , then the above four propositions ; and that for this reason they said nothing of foresaid propositions , nor of *Glanmorgan's* concessions vtill after signature of the 30 Articles ; they then desired *Glanmorgan's* concessions should be at once printed and published with the 30. Articles as contained and comprised in one of them , to witt , the Article of his Majesties grations favour and further concessions , (which is as I remember the first Article of all) but my lord of *Ormond* absolutely denied said concessions of *Glanmorgan* should be published at once with the 30
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Articles, and that he had nothing to doe with *Glanmorgan's* treaty or concessions. Of the above foure propositions the cheefest things to be vrged and insisted vpon, ackording the instructions they had, they sayd nothing to *Ormond*. After this followeth a title of the author *in hec verba*.

How the commitie of treaty demeaned themselves in concluding the peace of 1646 with Ormond.

THe Commitie (saith this Divin) cōfessed, they vpon concluding the peace of thirty Articles relejed principally vpon *Glanmorgan's* concessions, as to the libertie and exercise of Religion, and as to the establisshement and securitie therof, and they conceaved the benefit of *Glanmorgan's* concessions were included in these Articles of 1646, and made of equal force with them; wheras the benefit of said *Glanmorgan's* concessions is rather waved and renonced in said Articles of 1646: thole Commissioners of Treaty sayes *Glanmorgan's* concessions are included vnder these words of the first
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of the 30. Articles, *further concessions granted, or to be granted by his Majestie.* But you are to observe that all a long vpon the debate of the peace of 46. they never made (as above said) as much as mention to my lord of Ormond of *Glanmorgan's* concessions to be included and to be of equal force with the 30. Articles; it is true after signature of said 30. Articles they moved his Excellency of *Glanmorgan's* concessions; but he told them plainly he never meant by the Article of *further concessions*, that the Catholicks thereby should have the benefit of *Glanmorgan's* concessions.

Behould how the greatest matter, that could concerne the Catholicks, (the matter of Religion) was handled by the Committee of Treaty, to wit, the foure propositions above mentioned, and *Glanmorgan's* concessions, (the basis vpon which the Catholicks relied for Religion, and splendor thereof, immunities, liberties, Churches, and church-livings) committed to them to be insisted vpon; now in all the time of said treaty, and debate with his Excellency about the 30. Articles, not one word was spoken of said proposition and concessions nor at the very time of signature and per-

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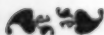
fection of the 30. Articles : as if they had been of soe litle worth as they merited not to be moved once, being notwithstanding the principal part of their trust. Did they think by silencing them in time of Treaty to steale them vpon my lord of *Ormond*? he was to wise to be soe gulled, or did they meane by not moving them, to leave them for a seede of a new warr when the King in Parliament should denie vs the benefit of *Glanmorgan's* concessions, and of thole other propositions and things, as in my opinion he could rationally doe, they being not articted and agreed vpon in the 30. Articles perfected by *Ormond*, by vertue of his commission vnder the great seale, and consequently not obliging the King as a matter contained included, and perfected in the said 30. Articles? what answer then can the commitie make for themselves as to the foure propositions and *Glanmorgan's* concessions not spoken of in the time of treaty? how could the benefit of them be obtained in Parliament, when the peace of 46. should be ratified and made good to the Nation? *Ormond* would denie in open Parliament any consent given by him to such concessions or propositions, or
that

that they had been as much as moved to him or propoled vpon time of treaty, or perfecting the 30. Articles; now it is cleare that in contracts nothing can be claimed, but what is don by the content of the parties contracting.

Heere our Commitie of treaty is in a labyrinth for obtaining the four propositions and *Glanmorgan's* concessions in Parliament, what they affirme, *Ormond* stily denies, (and groundedly) for who will say he consented to concessions or propositions never mentioned or vrged during the treaty, nor at the time of perfecting the 30. Articles? what shall the King determine in this dispute and difference? what other but denie the benefit of said propositions and *Glanmorgan's* concessions for not being consented vnto by his commissioner *Ormond*? what then will the Catholicks of *Ireland* doe? either they must content themselves with *Ormond's* peace of 30. Articles, and goe without the benefit of both the propositions and said concessions (the best and principal ground and securitie for Religion) or else they must make warr with the king for obtaining them, wheras vntill then they have never warred against his Majestie.

Heere have I given you nakedly the deportment of the commitie of Treaty, with the nature, substance, and qualitie of that peace of 46 altogether vnsecure and vn safe for Catholick religion, and all the interest of the Nation.

Now if in case that said Commitie of treaty for concluding of peace swarued from any of the rules and instructions given them (as indeed they have don) what they acted can noe way oblige either the Cleargy or the people to their owne overthrow and destruction; it were a hard case for a common-wealth, if persons by her impowered, with trust, and not performing the same trust, could bind the common-wealth to Acts prejudicial and destructive both to their preservation, interest and libertie, as many of those 30. Articles were to doe.



CHAP: VI.

The opinion of two famous lawyers vpon the peace of Glanmorgan , and that of Ormond, with the final result and iudgement of the Prelats after examining the said peace of 30. Articles.

WEe are in this place to see what the Congregation did , with their divins. After making a sound ponderation vpon the above foure Propositions , and other Acts and Ordinances of the severall assemblys of that Kingdom, they came to a mature examination of the 30. Articles, above mentioned , and for their surer conduct and better vnderstanding of all , made vse of the advise and counsell of the two eminentest, and famous lawyers of the land , who made certaine sound observations vpon that peace and concessions of *Glanmorgan* , the

substance of those observations is digested into four Articles

1. That the Committie of treaty waved the the benefit of *Glanmorgan's* concessions , by not onely not insisting vpon them , but not soe much as proposing them , during the treaty with my lord Lieutenant , which was contrarie to the trust and charge laid vpon them by the Kingdom.

2. A publick faith given by the Kingdom to the lord *Nuntio* and Cleargy to make *Glanmorgan's* concessions , and all conditions for Churches and Religion , as publick , as valid , and of as much force as that of the temporal , was not performed.

3. That the king did disavow *Glanmorgan's* concessions , soe as they became vterly therby void , for which reasons the Cleargy were to provide for themselves by other wayes.

4. Vpon the perclosing of those observations , the said lawyers hath this ensueing language. If the case of reference to *further concessions* , granted in the agreement of said 30. Articles can not extend to what the lord Lieutenant publicly disauoued , and as wee vnderstand (on the very perfection of said 30. Arucles) he before witnesses , expressed,

fed , to witt that the said clause of *further concessions* in his peace was not meant by him to extend to *Glanmorgan's* concessions, shall then the securitie of Religion and Churches in all the Kingdom depend on a matter that hath soe many doubts in it?

Besides if thole 30. Articles concluded with *Ormond* had any matter of moment in them for Religion , before perfection of them, the King reuoked the lord Leutenant's commission , and by this all goes to ground , for without authoritie he could not perfect articles. This revocation is in print and expressed in a letter from his Majestie to the Marquez of *Ormond* June the 11. 1646, as followeth,

C. R.

Right trusty &c. having long with much grief looked upon the sad condizion our Kingdom of Ireland hath been in these divers yeares , through the wicked and desperat rebellion there , and the bloody effects have insued there-upon. For the settling where-of wee would have wholly applyed our selves , if the difference betwixt us and our subjects heere , had not diverted , and withdrawn us , and not having beene able by force (for that respect) to re-

duce them, wee were necessitated for the present safety of our protestant subjects there, to give you power and authoritie to treat with them, upon such pious, honorable, and safe grounds as that our kingdom did then require; but for many reasons so long for a letter wee thinke fit to require you so proceed noe further in treaty with the rebells, nor to ingage us upon any condition with them after sight hereof. And having formerly found such reall proofs of your ready obedience to our commands, wee doubt not of your care in this wherein our service and the good of our protestant subjects in Irland is soe much concerned. from Newcastle June the 11. 1646.

This letter was received by Ormond before perfecting of the 30. Articles, wherefore said articles can be of noe force. what remedy then can be had? what heelp to make the 30. Articles valid? they said Digby brought some thing in Cypher to incourage the Lord Lieutenant, and what then? shall wee rely upon a cypher, and gett noe better securitie for our Religion, and Churches, for our liues, fortunes and estates, then the relying upon a cypher? this were in good earnest to make a peace in Cypher.

Heere I haue given you the sence of the two famous lawyers upon the 30. articles;
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one of those for his abilities was well known to the learnedest judges of *England* and *Ireland*, was a Counsellor to *Ormonds* familie, and one that knew as much of the ground and cause of our quarrel and of all that passed in the Assembly, Council and several committees as any who somever in the Kingdom.

By what is said you see *Ormonds* commission was reuoked before perfecting the said peace of 30. Articles (which shall be more expressly made cleare hereafter) and did not his Excellencie knowing this, play foolishly with the confederat catholicks? what then did he intend by intruding this peace vpon us? what other but to cheat and deceive us by getting from us vpon consideration of such a peace (as in effect he did) all our forts, citties, townes, armes, armies, and navy vnder his owne command, and by dissolving our association and gouernement; was not this a handsom trick and plott for vndoing vs taking away all our defense for noe other consideration then that of those plaistred articles perfected without any commission, that could and lightly would be disauowed in Parlament by his Majestie, as concluded without his authoritie, and consequently wee should gaine noe grace nor

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pardon by them.

After the Bishops and other ordinaries, and diuins, had well considered these things, and more particularly the result of the two renowned lawyers, who were especial leading-men in the common-wealth; after long debate, and learned arguments, great diligence, search and paines, they found it evident, that Religion, estates, lives, liberties, and safteie of the Catholicks, lay open to danger, notwithstanding the 30. articles agreed vpon with *Ormond* by the commitie of treaty (who discharging not the trust laid vpon them by failing to pursue the instructions giuen them, as aboue was said) and finding all the citties, townes, forts Garrisons, armie, ships, magazins., and the strenght of the Catholicks to be rendred vp to the lord Lieutenant (as some of them already was) and the supream Councel had by that time ceded their authoritie, and submitted to the said peace, which had been (as was said) proclaimed and published solemnly by the Kings-at-armes in *Dublin* and *Kilkennie*, and that the lord Lieutenant come from *Dublin* gallantly attended by many hundreds of prime Gentlemen, was then at

Kilkenny

Kelkenny and began to gouverne according to the articles of the peace ; the Bishops (I say) and Cleargynaked and without any garde other then the protection of God , and affection of good Catholicks , after invoking the name of the most high , came to a final result , which was the insueing decree , which they put forth , and caused to be published to the Catholicks over the Kingdom.



*Per congregationem Ecclesiasticam
vtriusque cleri hibernici , in
Spiritu Sancto congregatam
Waterfordiæ coram Illustris-
simo D: Archiepiscopo ,
FIRMANO Nun-
tio Apostolico ex-
traordinario in
Iberniam.*

Super questione inter nos orta , & per multos
dies exagitata , an perjuri declarandi essent ,
qui pacem contentam triginta articulis ad nos a
supremo Concilio transmissis , acceptarent , & suc-
cessive , an tanquam perjuri forent excommunican-
di & auditis prius singulorum sententijs , & rati-
onibus , lectisque aliquorum sacre theologiæ doctorem
scriptis , decretum est unanimi consensu , & sin-
gulorum votis nemine contradicente , quod omnes
& singuli confederati Catholici , qui simili pa-
ci adhaerebunt , vel ejus fautoribus consentient , aut
alio modo illam amplectentur , perjuri absolute ha-
bendi sint , ea præcipue de causa , quod in his ar-
ticulis nulla facta est mentio Catholice Religionis ,
ejusque securitatis , nec ulla habita ratio conserva-
tir

nis privilegiorum Patria, sicuti iuramento legitur promissum, sed potius omnia referantur ad arbitrium Serenissimi Regis, a quo in presenti rerum statu nihil certi potest haberi, & interim subiciantur exercitus, arma, & munimenta, ipsumque supremum Concilium confederatorum Catholicorum, authoritati & dominio Concilij status sue Maiestatis & officialium protestantium, a quibus, ut securi fieremus, iuramentum illud suscepimus. Ex quibus & ex pluribus alijs causis sola nostra conscientia morsi, solumque Deum prae oculis habentes, ut notum sit universis & singulis tum Ibernis, tum exteris, tali pace nos non dedisse, nec duros consensum, nisi pro Religione, Rege & patria juxta nostrum iuramentum securae conditiones apponantur; & ut Greges nostri confederatique omnes Catholici, qui in generalibus comitijs aliquando in hoc Spirituali negotio, velut ad Ecclesiasticum iudicem unice spectante, sententiam nostram rogauerunt, certo sciant quod a nobis determinatum fuerit, ut in eum sensum tanquam pii & fideles Catholici pastoribus suis obediētes concurrant. Huc decretum scribi, & ubique locorum anglicā vel etiam Ibernicā lingua publicari iussimus, & manibus ac sigillis nostris firmavimus. Alteram verò questionem de Excommunicatione ad proximas sessiones reservamus. Datum Waterfodix die 12, Aug: anno 1646.

*Ioannes Baptista Archiepiscopus FIRMANVS
& Nuntius Apostolicus.*

Fr. Thomas Archiepiscopus Dublin: Hiberniæ Primas.

Thomas Archiepiscopus Casseliensis

Fr. Boetius Episcopus Elphin:

Ioannes Episcopus Loanensis

Franciscus Episcopus Aladensis

Nicolaus Episcopus Fernensis

Fr. Patricius Episcop. VVaterford: & Lismor:

Ioannes Clonsertensis Episcopus:

Fr. Edmundus Episcopus Lacklin:

Richardus Adfertensis & Accadem: Episcop:

Edmundus Episcop: Limericensis

Emerus Episcop: Clocheren:

Fr. Iacobus Abbas Benchorensis

Fr. Patricius Abbas B. M. Dublin

Fr. Laurentius Abbas de Iurio,

Fr. Iacobus Abbas de S. Cruce;

Fr. Iacobus Tobin Abbas de Kiscoole;

Robertus vicarius Apostol: Rossen:

Donaldus Vicarius Fumiborensis

Fr. Gregor: Prior Pronine: Ord: Prædicat:

Fr. Dionysius Prior Pronine: Erim: S. Aug:

Edmundus ò Theige Procur: Illustriss: D. Armach:

VValterus Vicar: Apost: Tuamens:

Guilelmus Vicar: Apost: Imolacen:

Iacobus Vicar: Generael: Kildar:

Corpelius Vicar: General: Ardensis

Oliverius Vicar : general : Meden :

Dominicus Vicar : General : Corcagien :

Simion Vicar : General : Cluanensis

Edmundus Vicar : General : Clowensis

Cornelius Vicar : general : Cluan :

Robertus Superior Societ : Iesu

Fr. Antonius Procurator Provinc : FF : Minorum

Fr. Barnabas Commiss : Gener : Capuci :

These are the names of such as sate in the Ecclesiastical congregation of both the Irish cleargy secular and regular in true spirit of the holy Ghost convened at *Waterford* before the most Illustrious and most Reuerend Archbishop *Firminus Nuntio Apostolical in Irland.*

The decree is thus Englished.

As to the question betwixt vs moued, and for many dayes discussed whether such as would accept of that peace contained in the 30. articles, remitted unto vs from the supreme Councel, are to be declared perjurious, and consequently whether as perjurious they are to be excommunicated: wee having first giuen care to each ones opinion and sentiment in this matter, as alsoe hauing read the writings of some docters of Diuinitie, it is decreed, and by each ones vote in particular (none contradicting) that all and enery one of the confederat Catholicks, that will adhere to such a peace, or consent to the furtherers therof, or in any other manner or way

way will embrace the same, shall be absolutely as perjurious esteemed, chiefly in as much, as there is noe mention made in them 30 articles, nor provision for the Catholick Religion, or safety thereof, nor any respect had for the preservation of the Kingdom's priviledges, as were promised in the oath of association, but to the contrary all remitted and referred to the Kings will and pleasure, from whence (as the case stands at present with his Majestie) noe certainty of things can be had or expected, yet in the meane time all the armes, armies, fortifications, even the very supreme Council of the confederat Catholicks are and is to be subjected to the authoritie and rule of his Majesties Council of State, and protestant officers; from whom that wee may be safe and secure, wee have taken that oath.

Out of which and several other reasons wee (moved therunto by our only conscience, having God before our eyes) would have it known to all, and to each person, and persons as well of the Irish natives, as to forraign nations, that wee gave noe consent, nor will any to such a peace, if they will not grant us further, surer and safer conditions for our Religion, our King and Countrie according to our oath of association; and to the end our flocks (all the confederat Catholicks) who in their general assemblies required our sentence, in this spiritual matter ap-
 pertain

appertaining to us onely as Ecclesiastical Iudges, may know for certain what is by us determined herein, and as godly and faithfull Catholicks obeying their Pastors, may concurre with us: wee have ordered this decree to be written and published each where both in the English and Irish'tongue. Given under our hands, and sealed with our proper seales. The other question of Excommunication wee reserve to next sessions. Given at Waterford the 21. of August 1646.

This Decree was the principal worke of the Congregation, after which they writ to the Citties and townes in the Catholick quarters, to the Generals of the Armies, and some other principal officers, and to seuerall other noble men, warning them of the danger and insecuritie of said peace, adhorting all to concurre and joyne with them in rejecting the same peace, and at the same time they writ the ensueing letter to the lord president and members of the late supreme Councel residing at Kellkenmie.

Right honorable after a serious debate with Mr. Plunket and Mr. Darcy desiring and hoping for a good understanding between us (whereby the union and true peace of the Kingdom may be preserved) wee conceived and drew up the inclosed declaration and propositions containing our true

sense of the late peace, and our iust demands for a sufficient provision, and securitie for the Catholick Religion, churches, liues, liberties and estates of the confederat Catholicks of this Kingdom, praying wee may with all conuenient speed receaue your answers (which if not timely returned, wee shall find our selues obliged in conscience to let our declaration and propositions be made publick) with our best wishes, wee rest your Honours louing friends. Waterford. 24. Augnst 1648. by command of the lord Renuccini Archbishop and Prince of Fermo, Apostolical Nuncio, and of the Ecclesiastical Congregation of both the secular and Regular Clergy of Ireland. Nicolaus Episcopus Fernensis Cancellarius Congregationis.

The superscription was. *For the Right Honorable the lord Mongarret and the rest of the late supreme Council.*

The declaration mentionned in the aboue letter (which was printed) doth manifest what past vpon the examination of the peace of 30. Articles, and of the aboue mentioned matters, with our sense and judgement vpon all, our prayers and fatherly commands to our flocks ouer the Kingdom, and to the Generals and other officers and soldiers to haue nothing to doe with that peace; the propositions mentionned

ned in said letter were expedients offered by the Congregation for securing the Catholick Religion, liues liberties and estates of the Catholicks.

One (and that a principal proposition) that *Glanmorgans* concessions vpon which the comitie of Treaty relyed as to Religion) should be made as valid and pudlick as the 30. articles, and of the same force with them for the benefit and satisfaction of the Catholicks. *Ormond*, (who was then in *Kelkennie* when the mentioned letter was receaued by the supreme Council) answered he had noe power to consent to such concessions, nor as much as to add any article to the 30. articles, his Commission (by vertue of which he had concluded said 30. articles with them) being expired, yet he promised all the frindly offices that lay in his power, and all mediation with the king for the satisfaction of the Catholicks, which was noe securitie nor satisfaction to the Catholick Prelats.

The supreme Council, after receauing the mentioned declaration and propositions, employed *Sr. Lucas Dillon* knight and *Gerrat Finnel* Esquire (both of the Council) with *Thomas Tirel* and *Laurence Dudal* esquires, ad-

ding to them *Nicolas Plunket* and *Patrick Derry* esquires (who were in *Waterford* before) both members of the Councel, to offer certain propofals for fatisfying the Bifhops, and cleargy, to the end fofaidd peace of 30. Articles might be vnanimoufly by them and the reft accepted; thefe gentlemen were humanly receaued and liftened vnto by the lord *Nuncio* and Bifhops of *Clonfert* and *Ferne*, (which two were choſen by the congregation to attend on the lord *Nuncio* in that affaure) after all was heard and confidered of, and all they faid represented to the Congregation, there was nothing of securitie found as to Religion and churches.

Heere it is to be particularly obſerved, that the Lord Leutenant *Ormond* vpon a fudden departed from *Kelkennie* to *Dublin* like a man poſſeſſed by ſome feare, when Sir *Luke* and the reft were vpon their way to *Waterford*, which departure of his preſcinded all expectation of giving ſuch securitie and ſatisfaction as the Bifhops and Cleargy expected. Heer vpon the Congregation tould Sir *Lucas* and the reft of the Gentlemen, there was noe other way remaining for ſatisfying all good men, then to ſummon of new a Ge-
ne-

neral Assembly of the confederat Catholicks, and there and then to have the 30. Articles of 46. more nicely examened, and by them to be recepled, or rejected as pleased the prudence of the whole Catholick Assembly.

This is a candid and ample account I give you out of the mentioned divin of the propositions and proceedings of the Bishops and Cleargy assembled in *Waterford*, to the end (that all their transactions there and then rightly pondered and vnderstood) they may appeare to the world (as really they are) innocent and blamelesse as acting nothing therin, but what the dictamen of their conscience led them vnto, touching the 30. Articles.

It is by this manifestly known how *Ormonds* mercenarie pens, and others vpon their suggestions (without any search or examination) haue both bitterly spoken and written of these Bishops, and of all the cleargy for putting a side that peace; one of which (and that wrote bitterly) was *F. Peeter Vvaish*, who censured them griuously for soe doing, though at the same time, this Congregation saie, this friar was as much against the said 30. Articles and *Ormond*, as another; how he came to Change his mind, and writ for *Or-*

mond against the Bishops and Cleargy, I know not, neither to this day hath he given any ground or reason, nor is able to doe, for that his instabilitie; and if in case he had apparently given, yet noe regard ought to be had by any good and Zealous Catholick, of what he layes, in as much as he lyes vnder the curse of an excommunication major (as I haue said in the Preface) pronounced against him by a general Chapter of his owne order, against whom he most rebelliously stands out refusing submission to them.

I hope these things well considered the Bishops and Cleargy assembled in *Watersford* will loose noe esteeme in the sight of good impartial Christians, but rather be commended for their zeale vnd fortitude in Gods cause; wee are not to feare fire nor sword, nor the graetness of men, when wee speake for God and his glorie. *Loquebar* (saith the diuin psalmist) *de testimonijs tuis in conspectu regum & non confundar.*

The diuin by me aboue cited protested before God and his Angels, that the Bishops and cleargy had noe intention to offend *Ormond* in that proceeding, or to blemish his honnor in the least, but they were much vnlsatisfied with the Comitie of Treaty, for
neg-

neglecting and not performing the trust laid vnto their charge ; by which protestation you see the Bishops gave noe cause to *Ormond* to depart *Kelkennie* for *Dublin* , nor as much as thought of his goeing , or suspected in the least that he would be gon , but his owne conscience whysspered various thoughts vnto him : soe that *verè trepidabat timore ubi non erat timor*. He trembled with feare where there was noe occasion of feare : howeuer since this great man departed for *Dublin* , he fostered an inveterat *odium* against the Bishops and Cleargy swearing and protesting he will be avenged of that *stinking crew* (soe he is heard to call them) ; which vnusuall forme of speech to an intire , and of an intire body of Bishops , vertuous , learned , and honorable men , (divers of them being noble descended .) If this be I say a language becomming a noble man of *Ormonds* qualitie , or rather the language of a rash , profane , and insolent person ; let any discreet man iudge.

CHAP. VII.

*The Calumnies and aspersions cast by
Fa. Wailsh upon the Congre-
gation of Iamestowne, and
especially that of forcing the
Lord Lieutenant out of
the Kingdom, confu-
ted; and their
proceedings
justified.*

FOur yeares after this Congregation of *Waterford*, an other convened in *Iamestowne* (a litle towne in *Conaght*) two yeares after the second peace concluded with *Ormond* in the yeare 1648, by the vnanimous consent of the Kingdom: *Ormond* kept a great sturr with this Congregation, and *Fa: Wailsh* (who busied himselfe still and alwayes in verifying of *Ormonds* docings) must needs write vnhandfomly of that venerable congregation, laying (in his litle printed booke, he calls by the name of *the more ample accompt.* pag: 105) *that vnfortunat and fatall Congregation*
gave

gave a scandal which aspersed them, and aspersed not them, and the whole Irish Cleargy alone, but even their Communion and Religion in its total extent, specially through these Nations. Further he sayes, they rendered the Catholicks incapable of any mercy intended by the King for tender consciences; that great argument being (saith he) the Irish rebellion in 41, the opposition and rejection of the peace of 46. with all the circumstances and consequents of ever since the fatall worke of Waterford Congregation: the opposition likewise made by a very considerable part of the Cleargy and people to the peace of 48, and the Cleargy's rendering it at last fruitless (even I say after a general reception of, and submission to it) by the declaration made, and censure issued at lamestowne, and by the inducements before and after that last unfortunate meeting of the Bishops; finally their twice forcing, or at least putting a necessitie on his Majesties Lieutenant to depart the Kingdom.

The diuin (who justified the casting away of the peace of 46) answered Walsh in this kind. This shewed himselfe presumptuous, and to buisie in censuring the Cedars and Pillars of the Church, to whom he ought to bow his head for reuerence, and would haue done soe, had he been a true and humble child of S. Francis, all he haue said, or can say, will come to nothing, and his arguments

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will

, will be found of noe more strenght then a
 , wauering reed, (such a thing he is) for ha-
 , uing plaid Iack on both sides; will he dare
 , say he had more piety then all the Bishops
 , and Cleargy of the Kingdom & more learning
 , then they all in one body? more loue to
 , th^r flocks and people? more fidelitie to the
 , King & more interest in the nation? or had
 , he better knowledge of what past since the
 , making the peace of 48, till the meeting of
 , *lameflowne*, then they all & what authoritie,
 , power or comission had he to iudge the de-
 , crees of Bishops and Cleargy? he should rat-
 , her have listened to *Seneca's* aduile, *si iudicas*,
 , *cognosce*, *know afore you iudge*, he knew not the
 , grounds the Bishops went vpon, and con-
 , sequently gaue an erronious iudgment; the-
 , re needs noe other reasons, or arguments for
 , convincing him then the view of the acts
 , and Decrees of the said congregation: in cal-
 , ling the Congregation *fatal* and *unfortunate*, he
 , shews neither education or breeding towards
 , these two venerable meetings.

He is erroneously mistaken in saying they
 gaue cause of scandall to the people; as for
 the reuolution of 41. it hath been justified
 a holy and lawfull war, by a skilfull and
 learned pen: the Acts of the Congregation of

lamefl-

Lameſtorne alſoe haue been made good and maintained by what I haue written, and was not yet answered by *Fa: VVailsh*; the peace of 48 was not rendred (as he pretends maliciously) fruitleſſe by thoſe of *Lameſtorne*, or the people: the *Iriſh* Comiſſioners haue ſufficiently proued this in *London* before his Maieſtie and Counſel. Beſides the Biſhops neuer intermeddled in that peace, hauing ſtill eſteemed the ſame as a pretious iewel of the Kingdom dearly bought, and ſuch as euery man deſired to performe, it hath been already ſufficiently proued that they did not render theſe Articles fruitleſſe; but *Fa: VVailsh* ſayes, they rendered them fruitleſſe by putting a neceſſitie (which is the ſecond propoſition objected againſt them) vpon the Lord Leutenant to part the Kingdom, and this wee alſoe denie; *Fa: VVailsh* will find noe ſuch decree of ours to that purpoſe: if his Excellency was able to doe any good in the extreme condition wee were in, why did not he ſtay? the obligation of being Lord Leutenant would haue him ſtay, and this was not taken from him, the truth is he was not able by his ſtaying to face the enemy, or defend what as yet was in the Kings poſſeſſion, and this is it made him goe away,

ashamed and confounded to have lost vs all wee had in our possession, when he made the peace with vs, and that he saw noe way of regaining the places lost, this made him leaue the Gouvernement with the Lord Marques of *Clanricard*, when he saw evidently all was going to wrack; they say it is a secret instinct of rats to leaue houses that are like to goe to ruine, or vessells that are to be drowned: this truth wee haue found by experience; the Lord Lieutenant had a stronger ground for leauing *Ireland*, then the secret instinct of these smal beasts, reason made him evidently know that *Ireland* was to be soon lost, (his coming to vs was a great, if not the only cause of this vnrecoverable losse) and that destruction was approaching their doores: shall I make this manifest? *First* there was noe mone, nor treasure to pay the soldiers, which did not vse to fight without good pay, though our cause for fighting was the best in the world, for liues, liberties, fortunes, estates, and religion; wee had good experience of this, and wee neuer saw in any countrie souldiers soe wel paid; now cleare it is, there was noe way for paying, ergo noe fighting to be expected; *secondly* there was noe amunition of powder for defending the places

ces wee had, nor for field service; would men (thinke you) expose themselves as marks to the enemy, expressly to be killed without any defense? *Thirdly* there was noe revenue, or rents to be had for supporting in the future the souldrie, officers, traine of Artillerie, pensions for Commissioners of trust, and other necessarie Commissioners attending the Armie and publick: this truth is cleare out of the Gentlemen Commissioners at London, to witt, *that there was noe towne or considerable place when his Excellency did depart, in his Majesties hands, but Limerick and Galway, and the Counties of Galway and Clare, the other parts of connaght being wast, and the rest of the Kingdom lost; all which (as they auerre) happened before the proceedings of that part of the Cleargy mett at Iamestowne, as was said before. Fourthly* there was noe expectation of ayde from any part of the world.

In this place I shall desire my Lord of Ormond or Fa: VVailsh. for him to name me any person, Lord, Gentleman, Cittizen, marchand or yeoman, that would giue at that time by way of lone, or gift vnto the publick any thing? what hopes then had my Lord Lieutenant of any substance to maintaine the war? they will say there remained

as yet the Citties *Limerick* and *Galway*, and in these were many rich men; but let him tell me who was able to get these riches; the Lord Bishop of *Limerick*? noe; the Arch-bishop of *Tuame* ordinarie of *Galway*? noe; the Commissioners of trust? nor those, noe nor all the Bishops and Clergy of the Kingdom with them; nor my Lord Lieutenant himselfe; in whose face they shut their gates: I confesse my Lord Lieutenant had his faction in *Limerick* (though the maior and honnestest part were against him) the recorder *slackpole* a rotten fellow, his *creaghs*, *whites*, *macnemarras* and *Fenells*, all these did not provide the least in way of loane or otherwise: they painted honnest men in ill collours, and tould his excellency vnder hand, they were to be suspected, and feared; but at last they them selues proued traitours and knaues, and these they would haue suspected, proued honnest men, true to God, king and countrie; tell me (I beseech) who where they, who foully betrayed *Limerick* to *Arton*, after many months noble resistance, were they of the lord Lieutenants faction; or of those adhered to the cleargy? they were the lord Lieutenants people, the aboue named, who betrayed the towne and bloud
of

of innocents : who were they *Irish* put to death ? they were those adhered to the cleargy and Kingdom, *Terence o Brien* Bishop of *Emihe* (the Bishop of the towne escaped narrowly) *Sr. Geffery Galloway*, *Geffery Barron*, an ornament to his country ; *Mr. Dominick Faunin* Alderman, *Mr. Thomas Stritch* Alderman a right honnest man ; *Mr. Higgens* Doctor in physick, and *sa* : *Laurence VVailsh* priest, these were all put to death by *Irton* : *Hugo Neale* a man nobly borne, and who stoutly before defended *Clonmel*, taken prisoner was sent to *London*, committed to the tower, and had suffered but that he proved himselfe Alien born in *Flanders*, though of *Irish* parents : did any *Creagh* or *White* or *Blackpole* &c. dye or suffer that day ? noe, but *Irton* one of the kings great murtherers struck dead those he thought loued the King. what noise then doth this giddy friar keape about *Ormonds* departing the Kindom, and must stone to death all the Bishops and cleargy for hauing (as he sayes, but falsly) forced *Ormond* away ? and if he had stayed, let him tell me, what could he doe more then the marquez of *Clanricard* haue done, whome he left in trust with the Gouverment & he was not able to doe soe much, and this *father*,

ber, and all the Kingdom knew it, and this indeed made him part the Kingdom: let then any tell me doth not *Fa: VVailsh* speake against his conscience, when he pretends the Bishops did force the Lord Leutenant away; again let this *father* tell me would not the people that obeyed his excellency's orders, commands, and letters at *Leaghbreagh*, and who vexed much for his sake the Bishops and Cleargy for what was done at *lamestowne*, and for having indeavoured to doe them all good: did not these in that Assemblie disclaime in, and seeme to detest the proceedings at *lamestowne* to pleasure his excellencie (I meane the major part, but not the founder part of them) would not these people keepe him, if he had been pleased to stay? nor did the Prelats intend to crosse there the major vote of the Assembly, for all their decrees, and excommunications were made with this limitation, that the Assembly whensoever they were pleased to meet, could dispose of all things in order to their owne preservation; and consequently could of the matter of the Lord Leutenant's going or staying: and would not they who soe adhered to him, stand or fall with his excellency? to fall they were sure had he stayed; and some of them knew he went expressly away that he might

might not be spectatour of soe great a fall and ruine , as that of a Kingdom.

I confels ingeniously the Bishops and cleargy at *Lamestowne* wished my lord would goe away , and why ? for grudge or spleen to his person ? certainly they had noe such thoughts , but they foresaw the ruine and destruction of the people could not be auoyded he staying with them , and this before God was their feare and judgement of him , and there could not be in the world a more evident presumption for judging and fearing , as they did , and for this reason (though not certaine his departure would cure the dangerous distemper of the Kingdom) some hopes they had , that the vnion of the People would be greater , and courage , and more cheerfully contribut to their owne preservation ; this was really the intention and mind of that congregation , which I knowingly doespeake ; let *Rs: Wailsh* put in print what propositions or dreames he pleaseth , or build castles in the ayre for excusing *Ormond*. This well grounded feare of theirs , and the desire they had of the Peoples preservation , moved them to write to his Excellencie in an humble manner that he would be pleased to take a viage for *Frans-*

et to the Queen and Prince (now King
whom God preserve) for to get aydes and
succour , and to leave the Government in
some trusty hand ; with this letter they sent
the Bishop of *Drummore* (a great frind of
Ormond's) and *Charles Kelly* Dean of *Thames* to ex-
press their intentions to his Excellencie.

Heere I set you downe the letter and in-
structions, that you may passe your iudgement
on them , and first I giue you this notice
that in that graue Congregation was nota
woord spoken of his Excellencie other then
with respect due to his person , qualite , and
greatness , though there were then persons
present severall Bishops and other Cleargy-
men turned out of their Churches, and homes,
not well knowing which way to turne them-
selues, which calamitie befell them in time of
his government.

The letter of Iameltowne Congregation to the Lord Lieutenant.

MAY it please your excellencie wee received your letter of the second currant, wherein to our admiration wee saw some expressions that seems means for casting the blame upon us of the present sad condition of the Kingdom, which wee hope in good time to answer to the satisfaction of the whole world and Nation, in the meane time wee premis this protestation as wee are Christian Catholik Prelats that wee have don our endeavours with all earnestnesse and candor for taking away from the hearts of all, jealousies, and diffidences occasioned (as wee conceive) by soe many disasters that befell the Nation of late, and that in all occasions wee were ready to accompanie all your Excellencies desires for preservation of all his Majesties interests in this Kingdom, whose state being for the present desperate, wee thought it fit and our duty to offer unto your Excellency our sense of the one only possibilitie and meanes wee could devise for its preservation, and that by the intervention and expresion of my Lord of Drommore and Doctor Kelly dean of Tuame; they will clearly deliver our thoughts, and good intentions as to this effect: wee pray your Excellency to give full credit to what they shall say in our name in this businesse, which will be still owned as our commands laid on them,

and

and the expression of the sincere hearts of your Excellencies very loving servants etc. James.
 Downe 18. Aug: 1690.

This letter was signed by all the Bishops sitting in the Congregation. The instructions that accompanied this letter, were as followeth.

First yee are to present unto his Excellency the vast destructions, and desolations of the Kingdom. the Citties, townes, places, etc. that wee have lost in the space of few months, especially Wexford, Ross, Kilkennie, Clonmel, Cashel, Carrick, the forts of Ticrohan, Carlow, &c. almost the whole Provinces of Munster and Liuster, with the churches and church livings in them, and that the Cittie of Waterfoord and the fort of Dunkanan blockt up by the enimie (noe armie being to relieve them) are in danger to be soone lost, as alsoe the rest of the kingdom not yet lost, which is but this Province of Connaght, and the countie of Clare.

2. That the People seeing noe visible armie for their defence to oppose the enimie, are come to despair of recovering what is lost, or defending what wee should; and inclining (for the safety of their lives and estates) to compound with the Parliament, by which agreement the Kings authoritie will be insensibly cast off, the Catholick faith (soe wee feare) with the time extinguished, and the Nation first enslaved, will perhaps in the end be pluckt up root and branch.

3. Yes

3. Yee shall protest before God, Angels and men, in the name and behalfe of the Congregation, that the Prelats of this Kingdom have employed their earnest and best endeavour for removing the feares and jealousies of the people, and that they have noe power to doe it, finding the unuerſal ſenſe of the people so be, that ſate doth waite vpon these times.

4. Yee shall present to his excellency how wee finding noe oth r human expedient remedie for the preservation of this Nation, and his Majesties interest therein, then the speedy repaire of his Excellency to the Queen and Prince in France, for preventing the destruction of all, doe humbly pray he leave the Kings authoritie in the hands of truely persons to his Majestie, and faithfull to the nation, and so such as the affection and confidence of the people will follow, by which the rage and furie of the enemy may with Gods grace receave some interruption; wee humbly offer this important matter of safety or destruction of the Nation, and the Kings interest to his wisdom and consideration, and yee shall assure his Excellency, wee shall in the meane time doe what lyeth in our power to assist the persons intrusted by his Excellencie.

Yee are alsoe to pray his Excellencie will be pleased to give yee an answer within few dayes, for that wee are not in a condition to continue long togiſher.

I aske, if there be any thing in this letter, message, or instructions, but what is hu-

humain, civil, and with great respect to his Excellencie? In this nature the Bishops soe demeaned themselves, even then when the greatest danger of destruction was over them, yea when most of them were destroyed already, and reduced to extreme pouerty, through the loss of the kingdom in the short time of his government.

I further demand is there any thing in this that saouours of treason or disaffection to his Majestie, or of oppoling or destroying of the peace, or of desire to put aside the kings authoritie and gouernment? was there any thing in all these proceedings could offend this noble man? or could any man draw out of this an occasion of carping or reprehending the Prelats? certainly noe man, excepting this father, or some other *Ormonian* flatterer: was it I pray you, soe haighnous a crime to desire the lord-Lutenant to take a viadge to the Queen and Prince, for to seeke supplies to support the war? and leaue the kings authoritie behind him, in hope wee might doe some thing against the enemy in his absence by these intrusted by him, in as much as he himselfe did nothing all that time, but lost vs all wee had as likewise what was gained from the enemy in the begining of his owne Government.

verment? great Generals have been displaced for want of success, though valorous soever; this have been don in the *Roman* and *Athenian* commonwealths the most flourishing in the world

An ancient old woman came to *Philip* king of *Macedo* in presence of all his Grands, beseeching his Majestie to give care to her complaints, and doe her justice, the king replyed, he had noe leasure to attend her, at which answer the bould poore woman said in presence of them all, *igitur ne sis Rex?* what are you King for, but to doe vs iustice? if you will not heare me lay downe your crowne, which you got to doe me iustice; immediatly this great king stood vp gaue her audience, did her iustice: would it not, I pray, well become my lord of *Ormond* to listen to the iust and reasonable request of soe many Bishops, spiritual fathers of the people, while they humbly prayed him to take in hand a viadge? certainly I am confident that the great Monarchs of *Spaine* and *France* would give care to what soe many Bishops would say, and take it much to their serious consideration, and I doubt not but our owne King would have don it, though of a different religion.

It hath been said by some of his owne friends

frinds, that he himselfe desired to take such a viadge in hand, but in as much as the Bishops desired him, he went backe from his owne resolution, what the reason is I know not, if not to crosse their desire.

CHAP: VIII.

The true Jealousies of the Irish Catholicks at London, that Ormond was to desert them, well set forth by F: Wailsh in a letter to Ormond, with certain observations made vpon the same letter.

NOW we come to the jealousies and feares of the Catholick nobilitie and Gentry in London, yeare 1660. well set forth in a letter from F. Wailsh vnto Ormond, who, notwithstanding all the rest did feare, yet the F. did not, nor as much as suspect of Ormonds disaffection and realtie to his countrie, and catholick frinds; wherefore Ormond may say to him, what our saviour said to the centurian *Math. c. 8, Non inveni tantam fidem*

in Israel. Heere I give you the fathers letter.

A letter from Peeter Wailsh to
the marquez now duke of Or-
mond and second time lord leu-
tenant of Irland, desiring a
Iust and mercifull regard
may be had of the Roman
Catholicks of Irland,
written Octob: 1660.

Since I had the honour of speaking last to your
Excellencie, I reflected (by reason of several dis-
courses had this week with persons of qualitie) on the
dayly increase of the feares and jealousies of my coun-
triemen, which is the reason that instead of waiting v-
pon you this morning about priuat concerns, (as
I intended) I chose rather out of my unalterable affec-
tion to your selfe, to give first this paper, and therein my
thoughts, and my desires relating to the publick, that is,
to your selfe, to his Maiestie, and his Kingdom
of Irland.

My lord I thought fit to tell you that considering

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the general feare seized already almost on all the Nobilitie, and Gentry, and others here of that nation, and reflecting on the vast difference 'twixt my owne beleefe, and theirs, it seemes unto me I behould in us all (particularly who have relied for soe many yeares on your vertue) some-what fulfilled not unlike the misterious extinction of all the light, to one in the ceremonie of Tenebræ in holy weeke: for my lord I observe in the generalitie of the Catholicks of Irland here, even (I say) of those, who have been soe long your constant beleivers, your passionat friends, a dimness and darkness seazing their judgment, even your fastest sticklers heretofore, loosing at present their expectation of your future appearance for them, and hopes of their delivery by you at any time evermore: some through ignorance of states affaires, and intrigues obstructing as yet; others through inconsideration of these wayes so you knowne, much wiser, though slower then folly and rashness could chalke out: and some out of prejudice, or an evil will, which blinds them, and makes them abuse the timorousness and credulity of all they can to lessen your esteem and your dependence, all they are able.

My lord, these thoughts, which more and more troubled me dayly, because I have dayly new occasions to reflect on them, and therefore would noe longer but give them your Excellency even in this method and writing, that they may take the deeper impression, as every much concerning you, since your owne welfare, and the

the kings and peoples, (in my judgment) very much depend on a good esteeme of soe great a minister as your great deserts have made you.

But with all my lord I will give your Excellency my most earnest and most hartie desire, that you delay no longer then shall be necessary to cleare these clouds of darkness, and cleare them in this present conjuncture by an effectuall demonstration of the justice and favour you intend the Catholicks in your Articles of 48. when they soe freely put themselves, and their power into your hands.

Father VVails, your letter is well penn'd expressing excellently the general feare that teazed vpon all the Catholicks of our nation in London; a truer expression could not be. I observe you say in the generality of Ireland here, even I say of those, who have bene soe long as well your constant beleivers, as your steadfast friends &c. And for the better persuading him to shew his vertue and affection to his Catholick friends, you tell him, his owne welfare, the kings &c. did much depend on a great esteeme of soe great a minister as his great deserts have made him: Nothing can be said in reason to moue a gallant man more then what you have said. In the end of your letter you presse him closely to doe the Catholicks justice by vertue of the Articles of 48. saying when they put

themselves and their power into your hands for freely.

Certainly good fa: had *Ormond* loved you and the Catholicks of *Irland* (those you name his fastest friends and sticklers) as much as you and they loved him, would he have given a good answer to your rational lines, but you tell nothing of his answer, if good or bad, if it were good, I am sure you would have published it amongst the rest of his great virtues, for as your silence in this argues noe good answer: all your prayers good fa: to *Ormond* are in vaine, you have cast your seed in a barren land, *Hoc est supra Petram*, and your prayers withered and shrank.

Had *Ormond* been a worthy man and lover of his country, he had dispersed those clouds of darknels as you desired him, taking away those feares of his true friends by appearing for the nation as beloved a just man, and as he was bound by vertue of the articles of 48. himselfe being the kings commissioner vpon concluding that peace. These are the affections and duties required at his hands by the Catholicks.

Doth his greatness (thinke you) give him a Privilege that the Catholicks should love him, and he hate them; that men nobly borne and many other worthy persons should
for

for ſoe many years rely vpon him putting great truſt in him, and he in the end ſhould betray them in the greateſt concernment they had in the world? if he hath in this done like a true Chriſtian or gallant noble-man head of ſoe ancient a family, judge you and all others?

You ſpeake after of *Ceremonies* and *Tenebrae*, all wee had from *Ormond* were but *Tenebrae* and *Darkneſs*, nor did your glorious light in the *Triangle* ever ſhine propitious to the Catholicks: his truſty friends and ſticklers have too long relyed vpon a reed of *Egipt*, a reed without ſtay or vertue, ſuch as your *Ormond* was and is. Such in *London* of our Nation (as you ſay) that feared he would prove, as he ſhewed himſelfe, I ſee were wiſer then you, that truſted ſoe much in him, and could not be perſuaded he would play booty in the end and abandon the Catholicks, their feare was groundd in good reaſon, and your confidence in him was vaine, and you remaine ſtill deceaved in that your confidence; oh! would to God the Catholicks had feared him in good time, if ſoe, *Ormond* had never come to the power of annoying them, or to looſe them; but *Serò ſapiunt phryges*: he deceaved the perſon moſt truſted in him, and did

believe (as you doe) that he would prove the deliverer of his country; I meane the Earle of *Clancarry* (then lord viscont *Musgr*) his brother in law, who seemed sore vexed in his dying bed for having placed trust in *Ormond*, (an errour destructive to his Nation) and could his Excellency (then was the time not to dissemble) the heaviest feare that possessed his soule going vnto an other world was for confiding soe much in him, who deceived them all, and lost his poore country and countrymen.

It is plain truth (and *F. VVailsh* you know it to be soe) the great opinion very many of the assembly had of the sound judgement of my lord *Clancarry* (speaking nothing of his high descent and fortune) made many of the nobles and gentry follow him, and in the end they all found themselves deluded.

You know well that young *Musgr* (*Clancarry* his heire) who was Collonell in *France*, a stout and valiant person, one of the hopefullest men of his Nation, (who was killed in the first war at sea against the *Hollanders*) could never indure his vncle *Ormond* after seeing his sinistrous wayes, his cunning artifices, and his deserting the Catholicks soe foully.

You have indeed *F:* earnestly prayed *Ormond*

Ormond and conjured him to appeare for the Nation, and to obtaine for them the benefit of the Articles of the peace of 48. (which he himselfe was bound in honnor and conscience to doe) and you constantly expected their delivery by him; and when shall that be thinke you? even then, when the Iews shall see their *Messias* long waited for.

Honest friar, *Ormond* hath deceived you, and tooke a course to increase and secure his owne fortunes, he colloqued with your countrymen; and in the end stuck to that side, that preyed and robbed them of their estates, and amongst all he had the greatest share, as is well knowne to all; yet not a word of this in your writings, of the high eulogies you give of his wisdom, vertue, and most pretious qualities that can adorne a statesman.



CHAPT.

CHAPT : IX.

*In this Chapter is clearly set
downe Ormonds wrong-
full invasion and possession
of several Irish Catholick
gentlemens estates, well
expressed in the case
of Sr. Robert
Lynch knight
and Barro-
net.*

O Rmond hath invaded against conscien-
ce justice and honour the estates of
hundreds of poore innocent Catholicks : I
beseech you , what title or right had his Gra-
ce to the estate of *Sr. Roberts Lynch knight* ?
(whom I doe instance for a thousand more,
not for any acquaintance with him) what
right I say had he to this knight's estate ? vpon
what accompt did he invade the islands
of

of *Aaron* this gentleman's inheritance, and had his son *Richard* created earle of that place and estate: it is manifestly known that *Dominium perfectum & plenum* of said estate was in *Sr. Robert Lynch* and his heires, and yet my lord tooke those lands from him, *quo titulo quo iure* is the question; deffend *F. VVailsh* if you can in this place your great patron; *ipsa synderesis* tould *Ormond*, that he was doing wrong and robbery the lands appertaning to *Sr Robert*, that *iudicium naturale quo* (as *S. Basil* speaks) *ab iniquis, bona facile discernere possumus*, clearly convinced *Ormond* that he was doing a robbery; that law of nature, *quod tibi non vis fieri alteri ne feceris*, that light of which holy *David* speaks, *signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui domine*: all those sacred lawes cryed out the depriving of *Sr. Robert Lynch* of his estate, was *factum contra legem dei aeternam*: all those lights of God and nature condemnes this fact, soe that *finis operis & finis operantis, obiectum circumstantia, & omnia quae agebat Ormondis erant contra legem Dei*; what then can he say or plead for himselfe? or you for him? he cannot alleage that he acquired that *Dominium* by any pact, stipulation, donation, permutation or prescription; what then will men say in this case? noe other then that *Ormonds* invading

Aling that gentlemans lands was *apertum latrocinium*.

Likely you may tell me the King made a grant to Ormond of the said knights estate; you know well that *in lege natura* noe human power can dispense, and it is certaine that the law of nature doth bind all kind of men, and that none can pretend exemption from the force of that law, the impression therof being a light made in every mans heart, soe that this law binds as well the prince as the lowest man: *legi natura* (saith *laclantius*) *ne prerogari fas est, nec derogare ex hoc aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest, nec vero aut per senarium, aut per populum hac lege liberari possumus*: shall I say more? probable it is that God himselfe cannot depente in the law of nature, take *S. Thomas* his authority for it, *quia id sapientia divina omnino repugnat, proindeque fieri non potest* 1.2. *quest.* 100. *ar.* 8. & ratio est (saith the saint) *quia lex naturalis nihil aliud est, ut docet S. Aug: quam ipsius aeternae legis & incommutabilis rationis ipsius divinae sapientiae in mentibus hominum facta transcriptio*. Now it is evidently cleare a man's life, liberty, fame, lands, estates and fortunes are his owne by the law of nature, and that by force of the same law *quisquis potest se defendendo & sua, vim*
vi-

vi repellere ; and soe could *Sr. Robert* against *Ormond* invading his estate had he beene, able to doe soe.

But you will say the lands and estates of subjects forfeited to the king for treason, rebellion, and other like crimes by way of attainder may be disposed of by the king: I grant that, but this authority for taking away from such men their lands and estates, the prince hath from the law of nature, which doth not protect any privat man to doe against the publick good, wherefore the commonwealth can take away the life of a man and his estate, (though both are his by the law of nature) when he transgresses against the prince or publick good; to whom by pact or law of nature he should obey: this the prince can doe for justice sake, but not for convenience, or at his will and pleasure; for the bonds prescribed to the jurisdiction of a prince, are justice, law, and reason, and not to doe his owne pleasure. Now I would know from you what crime hath *Sr. Robert* committed? was he convinced of any crime against the king before any bench of justice? what hath he done? who charged him? the law of *England* (a good law) sayes noe man can be condemned but by course of law,
that

that is the subjects birth-right, and to that effect are lawes made, that justice may be don to all men: princes are obliged in conscience to administer justice ackording the law.

I demand againe, what hath *Sr. Robert Lynch* don? you will say he was ingaged in the Irish rebellion, (for soe you still call that just war, which you could never as yet prove nor never shall) but grant it hath been a rebellion, *Sr. Robert Lynch*, as all the confederat catholicks had an act of oblivion from the king, in the peace of 48. *ergo* your rebellion was pardonned, *ergo Sr. Robert Lynch* cannot looke his estate for that, nor hath he since that time entred into a new rebellion, or committed any act of treason; *Ormond* cannot say he broake the Articles of peace of 48. for he still observed them, and adhered to the gouvernement and to *Ormond*, and had nothin to doe with the congregation of *Lancashire* whose acts were by *Ormond* esteemed or reputed treasonable: tell me then what right had *Ormond* to that noble gentlemen estate? you see the King's grant (if any he gave) being against the law of nature and the law of the land is voyd, and cannot excuse *Ormond's* conscience, and if the king by
a wrong

a wrong information, had granted one mans estate to an other, that other cannot prescribe, *quia numquam erat in bona fide*, and consequently in conscience he is bound to restore the said estate, because he houlds it *mala fide*; and the prince himselfe rightly informed is obliged in conscience to have the estate restored to the right owner.

But now let us returne to the other part of the F; letter, wherein he vseth a christian freedom of minding the king and Ormond how dangerous a thing is the violation of publick faith, and how such transgressors have beene severly punished in all ages; but above all he brings downe a formidable example of publick faith broken with the *Gabionites*, and how King David for appeasing the great famin, and the anger of God come vpon the people, delivered to said *Gabionits* seaven children and nephews of Saul, who crucified them alive vpon a montaine to expiat this publick horrid sin even in the face of sun. *Lib. 2. Reg. c. 21.* he ends his letter to Ormond thus.

*My lord I conclude here but wish my harty wishes, that in the house, and at the Counsell of our great king, your Excellency may both appeere, and prove your selfe hereafter, what you are in part already, as
other*

other Ioseph, that by the best advises you may preserve
 the best of Princes and all his people of soe many different
 nations of the british monarchy; may it be soe my lord
 and may the catholicks of Ireland in particular owne
 you a great deliverance; as I can not but confidently
 expect from you in due time, for my light in the trian-
 gle cannot be extinguished. But my lord may not in-
 nocent benjamin alone, nor frindly Ruben onely,
 but even Symeon and Levi, and their complices
 against you heretofore have cause to blesse God for you
 here after; may they all find in effect, that you have
 the bowells of Ioseph to forgive and compassionate
 them, and his power to deliver them, and his faith to
 believe that God permitted their evil against you even
 in foring you twice away from them of purpose to
 preserve you for their good, and that you might retur-
 ne even this second time their great deliverer Pro-
 pitious heaven and your owne good Genius (my lord)
 send my wishes, and may your faith-full beleever
 see with his owne eyes the full accomplishment; that
 he may employ all his daies after, and all his labours
 in consecrating to posterity your name, with this
 Elogium of Ioseph, the saviour of his bret-
 hren, and of his country, and of all the Peo-
 ple, and these are the happy wishes of my lord

your Excellencies most humble
 and most devoted servant P. VV.

Here

Here is a glorious perclose of that famous letter; good God what a faire flourish wee have here of magnificent woords, and even nothing but woords, vöwes, and dreaming wishes, that will take effect at once with the *Velleities* of the damned soules of hell: first he insinuateth the great wisdom of *Ormond* in the house and counsellis of the king, and would make vs beleeve he will appeare like an other *Ioseph*, and by the best of advises preserve the best of Princes our gracious king and all his people of soe many different nations of the Brittish monarchy; soe as the very Brittish crowne is againe like to suffer an other fatal knock, if *Ormond's* divine counsellis and adviles doe not prevent it; what man can read these *magnalia* without gearing at this fryar's folly? he then say's, may the catholicks of *Ireland* in particular owe you a great deliverance, as I can not but confidently expect from you in good time, for my light in the triangle can not be extinguished. Certainly the man have been in a pleasant humour and some jowiall exstasie when he wrote these things, but I see the spirit of prophesie forsooke this friar long agoe, and nothing (I am sory for it) fell out according his prognostication, for *Ormond* did quite deceave him

him in his hopes, and a streame predictions, and his false light in the triangle (if ever it was in the triangle) is shamefully put out ; for the people of *Ireland* in stead of this hopefull deliverance owe to *Ormond* their downfall and vtter destruction. He then speaks of beloved *Benjamin*, of frindly *Ruben*, as likewise of *Symeon* and *Levi* and their complices against *Ioseph* giving therby to vnderstand that the Catholicks sould *Ormond* as *Ioseph's* brethren sould him to the *Egyptians*, which is as great a lye as could be framed by a diabolick mind, whereas *Ormond*, if he did not sell the nation (as *Clarendon* the Chanchelour did) he hath at leastwise betrayed them in trust, pray good F: name the marchand to whome wee sould your *Ormond*? tell the price wee had for selling him? name the country he was transported vnto.

Now he comes to the bowells. of *Ioseph* in *Ormond*, O the mercifull bowells of *Ormond* in compassionating his countrymen! It is true he had great power to doe vs good, but turned that power to destruction, carryed away by a spirit of rancor and revenge: whereas you say wee forced *Ormond* away out of the country, it is a shamfull lye; but he himselfe withdrew, in as much as he could doe noe good to the countrie (as above said)

next

next you tell us he will become the great deliverer of his countrie : O the great deliverer *Ormond* of his countrie and countrymen ! of the Catholicks of *Irland* , noble *Ormond* ! that brought them out of chaines and bondage , that defended them faith-fully against *O'ery* , *Montrath* , and the rest of that rabelment of rebels when they had a contest before king and counsel ; that consoled them in their extremities , delivered them from hunger and famin , that represented to the king their loyalty and affection , and made good to them the Articles of 48. O wonderfull deliverer of the nation *Ormond* ! the lying friar perclosed his letter with this great elogium and prayer. *That Ormond may prove a Ioseph and saviour of his breshren , and of his Countrie and of all the people.*

Change your stile idle and vaine friar , writ truth once in your life , and tell the world that thy *Ormond* hath not been a Ioseph , nor saviour , but the ruine , looser , and destroyer of his breshren , and countrie and of all the people. You may as wel prove crueltie to be mercy , *Helogabalus* was a *Cato Uricensis* , or a *Phosion* of *Athens* , and that *Messalina* wife to *Claudius* was a vestal nun , as that *Ormond* was a Ioseph to the Irish.

Let who please compare *Ormond* with Ioseph,
P and

and then judge this friar apostatizing from all pietie and his order, a lyar in calling *Ormond* a *Ioseph*.

Ioseph in *Puissaphar*'s house was faithfull to his maister, contentent and vertuous; *Ioseph* in prilon was patient, obedient to Gods will and beloved of all; *Ioseph* in the court and government of *Egypt* was wise, just, humble, and in noe way proud or arrogant; if *Ormond* hath those vertues, let those that know him tell vs. *Ioseph* was of soe great wisdom and providence, as he prevented seaven yeares famin by gathering come in time of plenty, and selling it in time of scarcity and hunger to the people, thereby preserving them all from starving, wherefore *Pharo* called *Ioseph* the saviour of the world: surely the friar cannot stile *Ormond* saviour of *Ireland* or of the *Irish* in this sense; he preserved none of them from famin, but starved thousands of them, by taking away their lands, estates and bread: this his cruel tyrannie and oppression of the poore makes them strick the gates of heaven with grones and sighes and cryes, they all say aloud O *Ormond* cruel man! thou hast taken away the pledge of thy brethren without cause, and the naked thou hast spoiled of cloathes, widdowes thou hast sent away empty, and the armes of pupills thou
hast

Thou art broken in peeces. Job. 1. 22.

Those are flattering friar the workes of mercy *Ormond* thy *Ioseph* have done the Catholicks of *Ireland*; this is the tendernes of his mercifull bowells towards them, those are the effects of his great affection and care of them; and all this being soe, speake sa: *VVailsh* truth and shame the diuel, what hath thy *Ormond* to doe with *Ioseph*? thy *Ormond* (I say) a man, (of whome it is generally spoken and beleevd) could never forgive any thing that looked like an offence, or injurie done him, wheras mercy was the greatest vertue in *Ioseph*, and his remitting and forgiving the injuries done him by his brethren who sold him over to the *Egyptians*.

CHAPTER X.

Evident proofes of Ormonds deserting the Catholicks cheefly drawn out of his owne letter to Orery.

From the feares of the Catholicks of our nation in *London*, that *Ormond* was to desert

sert them, and their good cause, let us pass
 o cleere arguments fully convincing that
 noble man of this his mind and determina-
 tion to abandon said catholicks and joyne
 with Orery and the rest of that tribe, as real-
 ly he did.

God said to the Prophet. *Ezekiel.* Son of man
digge the wall, and when I had digg'd the wall there
appeared one doore, and he saith to me, goe in and see the
most wicked abominations, which they doe here. I am
 now comming to digg the wall, where you
 shall see the abominations Ormond was doeing
 even about the time the credulous friar wro-
 te him the above letter; what I am to say here
 will appeare evidently by Ormond's owne let-
 ter to Orery, which is in this forme.

Ormond's letter to Orery.

My Lord agreeable to the particular frindship I des-
re to have inviolably with your Lordship, that upon
occasion, the King's naming me to the gouvernement
of Ireland, I should have writen particularly to you,
but I held it not soe particularly necessarie, because I
understood a principal condition is that noe change should
be made in that, hoever it may make me more or less able
to serve you, soe that I presume on the old foot, and
 lay

lay affide all ceremonies : I hope you will find , that
 since I had some title to make it my business , the maine
 dispatches in order to the settlement of that Kingdom ,
 have not gon on slower then before , which with some
 thrifty alterations hath past his Majesties approbation in
 fullcounsell , and wil speedily be transmitted , and if
 it be possible , the great act of settlement with it , that
 with the retrenchements , the securitie as well of their
 possessions , as of a constant payement , of what is left of
 pay , may be secured unto them ; I assure you noe diligen-
 ce nor meanes shall be wanting or omitted on my side to
 hasten both to you. I thanke your lds. for general Pres-
 ton's pious oath , I never saw it before , but the fru-
 its of it , and of an other perjurie soone after I found ;
 and in truth found nothing but direct treachery and dis-
 obedience from the generalitie of that people , gover-
 ned by the worst spiritual guides , that ever lead a poore
 people to destruction , but they doe , and it is just they
 should , find the smart of it ; I have a designe to make
 that smart where it is reason it should , it is to execute the
 act in all the fundation of it , which must be immovea-
 ble by way of plantation , and transplatation (I mea-
 ne of the Irish) for it must be laid as a ground , that
 noe adventurer or soldier shall be removed from his loss ,
 by which all the ends of satisfaction and security , I
 think will be met ; which my conceptions are in the
 hands of your frind , and tells me he liketh them
 well ; when they are brought to forme you shall have
 them

Wem sent you. I am yours &c. Ormond.

CHAPTER XI.

A paraphrase vpon the misterious meaning of this letter.

IN this letter a blind man may perceave the great affection *Ormond* beares to the *Cromwellians*; and his longing desire to see them paid and satisfied of all their challenge and demands; more could not be desired by them, then what is promised by *Ormonds* letter (the 12. Counties in *Irland* that *Cromwel* and the then parliament allotted them) the same affection and care he hase of the adventurers of London, as deeply in rebellion as the rest Vnderstood here; for it must be (said *Ormond*) laid as a ground, that noe adventurer nor soldier shall be removed from his loss, by which all the ends of satisfaction and securisie, I thinke will be met; which my conceptions are in the hands of your frind, and tells me he likes them well; this frind he meanes is *Clarendon*, who sold away *Irland* and the catholicks of *Irland*; *Ormonds* conceptions ran vpon the satisfaction and securitie of the *Cromwellians*, that they should

not

not be removed from their lott, neither the adventurers; in manner that by this trinely distribution, there was nothing left to the Catholicks, for what the *Cromwellians* and adventurers possessed, were 22. countyes of thirty two in all *Ireland*.

It *Cromwel* were but aliue againe, and hauing an act of grace from his majestie for himselte, he could not demand nor desire more for his close Sticklers, then what *Ormond* assures them of. Good friar trouble your braines noe more with these Strained letters of yours vnto *Ormond* as for fauour to the Catholicks, *conclusum est contra ipsos*: all is disposed of, and to the very rebells: your *Ormond* have stopt his eares to your flattering eloquence, and left nothing to the poore innocent Catholicks, an eternal staine and blemish to his name and family: and this he was plotting (to your confusion friar be this spoken) this he was plotting I say, even then, and at the same time you strained your witt to pen him that learned letter: it is much, that for the confidence he placed in you his prone Orator, and affection he bore to his noble brother in law *Clancarry*, and Kindness to his gallant nephew young *Musgrvy*, that he concealed all these his hidden strata-gems

gems from you all, even from his intimate
ould friend Mr. Beling.

This letter is replenished with tender love
and affection to Orery; my lord (said Ormond)
agreeable to the particular friendship I desire to have in-
violably with your lordship: what a sudden altera-
tion (if they be sincerely spoken) is this, a
noble man held still to be a royalist, to be-
come soe vnexpectedly a fautor of Cromwe-
llians, a man as Ormond, who stuck soe clo-
sely to the king in his royal banishment,
and vnparallel misfortunes, the kings cabi-
net counsellor, to desire and insinuate freely
(without solicitations from the other side)
friendship and particular amitie, inviolably
to be observed and performed with the kings
mortal enemy, not long agoe, with Orery I
meane, whose witt was brewing to crowne
Cromwel king of the three kingdoms; Ormond
tells this Orery. *I hope you will find that since I had*
some title to make it my business, the maine dispatches
in order to the settlement of that kingdom, have not
gon on slower then before, which with some thrifty
alterations hath past his Majesties approbation in full
counsel, and will speedily be transmitted, and if it
be possible the great act of settlement with it &c. Or-
monds business here (which he made his mai-
ne worke) was to vndermine and destroy
the

the Irish intrest his settlement, (as hee means) is to see all disposed of to the Cromwelians, Adventurers and Souldiers, not forgetting himselfe, and some others, as treacherous to *Ireland*, as hee himselfe, or *Orrery*; heere you may take notice of his godly conscience in having a speciall care to see a constant payment (of what is vnpayd,) secured for the vngodly crew: tell mee *Ormond*, *Sauvour* and *Ioseph* of your Countre-men, what is your meaning by a constant payment to those who fought soe vigorously against the *Crowne* and *Royall Blood*? is this the *Crownes Interest*? will you haue reconciled Enemies constantly in pay, and seruice? is this Loyalty or loue to the *King*, to turne out true, and faithfull men to the *Crowne*, and confirme bloudy Traytours in their place? How many be there, that wonders as well abroad as at home, his *Maiestie* takes noe notice of these proceedings? certainly there can be noe great argument of loue to the *King*, in forsaking his constant and faithfull subiects & making new friendship with his approued enemies, thy affection to *Orrery* & others doe sound some misterious pollicie, as men of weake capacitie cannot reach vn-

to, however, there be those, that say that the roote of all this proceeds from an vn-satiabie desire of (*anti-sacra famia*) and willingnels to be reuenged on the poore catholicks of the Nation.

He then thanks *Orrery* in his letter for an oath hee sent him that General *Preston* made, and sayes he neuer saw it before, but found the fruits of it, and of another perjurie soone after. I need not in this place make mention of the ancient and noble familie of General *Preston* (Viscount of Taro) cadett to the most noble house of Gormans-towne the eldest and first house of viscounts in *Ireland*, a familie allwayes true and faithfull to the crowne, and of great pietie and deserts; that the said Generall ever show'd himselfe a gallant and valiant man in all dangers, is well knowne, and though *Ormond* and *Orrery* both have been Commaunders of Armies, the first under his Majeste, and the other under *Cromwell*, I can scarce beleeve either of them, gained (by, or in any expedition) as much honour and applause as *Preston* had at the seege of Iovain (where beseged by the French in the year 1634.) by a sallie made in the head of 300. of his owne regiment,

vpon

vpon *S. Peters* day early in the morning breaking vpon the French quarters, routing and Killing all Opposed or Resisted him, to the losse of 200 and eightie French souldiers, returning victorius sound and safe without loosing a man & was receiued with triumph and Ioy of all the people of Louain, vvhich noble exploit of his is celebrated by the famous-est writers of those dayes, as *Vernuleus*, and *Puteaus*. There was in General *preston* a nother thing of greater prayse then all this, true Vertu and pietie, being a man that feared God, and loathed to doe against his Commaundements, foe that it is a calumnie to call him perjured; but if *Orvery* and *Ormond* shall be admitted to iudge honest upright people, many will be by them censured as Noble *preston* is, for perfidious, and perjured men: But, pray why may not *Preston* and others say to this *Ormond*, *Quis te Constituit Iudicem?* I will conclude with General *Preston*, for whom I doe say, that his life being sifted out from his childhood, he will not be found to have done any base or vile action.

Hence *Ormond* is not resolved to stopp, but passes on further and sayes to his new moul-

ded Friend Orrery : and in truth I found nothing but direct treacherie and disobedience from the Generalitie of that people : it is true, *Quod ex abundantia cordis os loquitur*, in this place ; but I would have his grace know (in a friendly manner I speak) that there is nere a Butler a live, nor have been in times past, noe, nor of the Geraldins nor Bourkes (families renounced as any of the Butlers) nor even of the old princely blood of that Nation, as your *ô Brian, ô Nealls, ô Mourchoes, ô Donells, Macharties, O Connors &c.* whose word, or testimonie would be esteemed, as to the blemishing of the generalitie of a nation, to make them treacherus and perfidious : Father walsh harken and take notice of this Splendid attestation your great Mecænas Ormond gives of the Catholick people of Irland, *that in truth hee found nothing but direct Treacherie and disobedience from the Generalitie of that people* : what man soe impudent would maintaine soe notorious a reproach and infamie cast upon a sound body of men, a whole nation faithfull and loyall ever and all wayes to the King : in this place good Father I discover, that (notwithstanding your intimacy with Ormond) it doth not stopp him from giving you

you the lie, who in severall places of your writings doe prove the Generality of the nation (though you writt against some particulars) to have been loyall and faithfull to the King, now Ormond doth blemish the Generality of the nation, with a stayne of of trechery, what say you to this? Having aspersed the Nation by the fore-mentioned spott, hee turnes to the Bishops, Pastors, and Fathers of the people, and tells his louing Orerry, *the people were governed by the worst Spirituall guides, that ever lead a poor people to destruction, and sayes further, they doe it, and it is fitt they should find the smart of it, and that hee hath a designe to make the smart where it is most reason it should be.*

(Heere my Lord Duke vsurps a great presumption in saying the Bishops were dismall guides to the people: he is far mistaken in his false Suppositions, the Bishops were not they that misguided the people, & lead them a stray, he is mistaken I say again, *Vox populi* sayes it is he, and he alone, (Ormond I meane) that lead them blind fould, deluded, and trapan'd them to theyr destruction, downefall and rvine, Seazing vpon all they had, Fortunes, Libertie, and Estates, with the rest of his

Complices, and not the Bishops,

This good Duke seems to have a strange antipathie to these venerable Bishops, for each where he affronts them, an (argument of an ignominious minde ,) hee wil have noe peace with them. Though his Grace a while after the Kings restauration was created Duke , and Lord Steward of the Kings house , and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and one of his Majesties privie Counsel in *England* and Earle of *Brackhocke* (in wales) created, that hee might sitt in the Parliament of *England* ; to be short hee attained to that hight of favour with our good King , as none in the three Kingdoms did reach unto; yet all this signified little or nothing to him, till he had seen those catholick Bishops (alliedy much afflicted) trampled vnder his feet, theyr sufferings could not appease his wrath, theyr Innocencie could not latifise his conscience, nor theyr integritie rectifie his erronious Iudgement; but must needs write to his beloved *Orrery*, his new friend, saying that *these Bishops were the worst Spirituall guids that ever lead a poore people to destruction.* this is *Ormonds* testimonie to the King of the good Bishops, he sayd they were Traytours and disaffected to his Majestie and Crowne,
(and

(and sayes the same still) all this to kinde his Majesties indignation against them, and by that way to see himselfe revenged of an Injurie (hee imagined) don him by those of the congregation of *Watersford* and *Jamestown*, of which wee have sayd enough above.

Saint Paul himselfe (divine trumpet of the word of God ,) though hee suffered cheerfully and innocently many reproaches, contumelies, and imprisonments for Gods cause and sake, yet hee would not have his fame to be taken away or stain'd *Bonum est enim* (saith the Apostle) *mihi magis mori quam ut Gloriam meam Quis evacuet* : *Saint Jerome*, in Imitation of *Saint Paul*, sayes *Ad Silentiam : Apostolici et Exempli, et Præcepti est, ut Habeamus rationem non conscientia tantum, sed etiam fama*; Finally *Saint Augustin* Ser-mone tertio de vita Clericorum, hath these words, *tenete quod dixi atque distinguite, dua res sunt, Conscientia, et fama, Conscientia Necessaria est tibi, fama Proximo tuo, qui fidens Conscientia sua, negligit famam suam, crudelis est.* The Bishops being innocent are to follow *Saint Pauls* Example, to defend their fame against *Ormond*, and a greater man then hee, and chiefe Innocency.

Piety, and knowne integrity will thoroughly defend them. My opinion is that *Ormonds* vnquietness comes from the hight of his spirit: for that the appetite of ambitious men is commonly soe inordinate, & their will soe vnbridled, that they cannot indure to see themselves thwarted in the least, or crossed, soe that, though they possess never soe much contentment in all things, yet if in the least they finde themselves opposed, all the rest seems noysome unto them; an Example of which wee have in Holy Scripture, (in the book of *Hester*,) of *Aman*, who abounding in wealth and honour, Pleasures, and glories, seeing that *Mardocheus* the poore Iew, let him pass without doing him any reverence, (which *Mardocheus* did out of feare of offending God, knowing well *Aman* was a deadly enemie to God, and to the Iewes,) was soe vexed therewith, that hee assembled his wife, Children, and friends, having told them of all his Glories, and Familiarity with the King *Assuerus*, and how hee alone was invited along with the King, to *Queen Hesters* banquet, hee said and for all I have this pompe, magnificence and Glorie, I think I have nothing, as long as I see *Mardocheus* sitting before the Kings doore, and per-

and performing mee noe reverence (Even
 for Ormond, having all Glory, and prosperity,
 yett think hee haib nothing, while the Catholick
 Bishops (that offended him not) doe not prostrate
 themselves at his feet, and submit to his blindly
 transported Iudgment.) Then Zares Amans
 wife and his frinds answered him, saying,
 comm: und a beame to be raised of sixty cu-
 bits high, and speak to the King on the
 morning, that Mardocheus may be hanged
 thereon, and for thou shall goe Ioyfull and
 merrily to the feast, but all went quite to the
 contrary, and to Amans expectation, and
 to the expectation of all his frinds; the Gib-
 bet raised by Aaman, for Mardocheus,
 was turned to Aamons owne destruction.

That hee (as I said before) for his great
 ambition, accompanied with a revenging
 minde, can have but little ease or rest; The
 Prophet says, *Impius quasi mare fervens, quod
 quiescere non potest*, The wicked man is like a
 *, swelling Sea, which cannot rest; there can
 be noe greater executioners or torments to
 the minde of man, then ambition, enuy,
 and anger, this made Horace say, *Invidia
 sicula non invenerit tyranni tormentum majus*.
 The tyrants of Cicilie never found a greater
 torment then enuy.

Seneca

Seneca tells us the ambitious man receiveth not soe much contentement by seeing many behinde him, as discontent by seeing any before him; there are many great men in this age sick of this disease, such as cannot know when they are well, and though great they be, will strive still to be greater, soe that they can at noe tyme be at ease or at quietness, much like that Italian, who being well, must needs take phisick, and dyed therof, upon whose sepulchre this Epitaphe was engraved, I was well, and would be better, I tooke phisick, and came to the phereter.

Plutarch expresseth naturally this unquietness of ambitious mindes in *Pyrrhus King of Epirot*, who having greatly enlarged his Dominions with the conquest of the great Kingdom of *Macedonia*, began alsoe to designe with himselfe the conquest of Italy, and having Communicated his deliberation with his great counsellour *Cineas*, hee demaunded his advice, whertoe *Cineas* answered, that hee greatly desired to know what hee meant to doe when hee had conquered Italy? Sir quoth *Pyrrhus*, the Kingdom of *Cisilie* is then neere at hand, and deserveth to be had in consideration, as well for the fertility,
as for

as for the riches, and power of the Iland, well quoth *Cineas*, and when you have gotten Sicily, what will you then doe? Quoth *Pyrrhus*, *Africk* is not farre of where there are divers goodly Kingdoms, which partly by the fame of my former conquests, and partly by the valour of my souldiers, may easily be subdued, I grant it quoth *Cineas*, but when all *Africk* is yours, what mean you then to doe? when *Pyrrhus* saw that hee vrged him still with that question; then quoth *Pyrrhus*, thou and I will be merry, and make good cheere; wherunto *Cineas* replied, if this shall be the end of your adventures and labours, what hindereth you from doing the same now, will not your Kingdoms of Epyras and *Macedonia* suffice you to be merry, and make good cheere? and if you had *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Africk*, and all the World, could you and I be merrier then wee are, or make better cheere then wee doe? will you therefore venter your Kingdoms, Person, Life, Honour, and all you have to purchase that which you have already? Thus said wise *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus*, reprehending his Immoderate ambition, who knew not when hee was well, neither yet what hee would have, seeing hee desired

noe more then that which hee had alleready; which in the end cost him deare; for following his owne ambition, and unbridled appetite, to amplify his Dominions; as hee gott much, soe hee lost much being able to conserue nothing any tyme, and at length having entred the towne of *Agras* by force, hee was killed with a brick batt throwne downe by a woeman from the top of a house; heere you see the wretched end of *Pyrrhus* his ambition.

Had *Ormond* such a Counsellour by him, as *Cineas* was, & heard unto him, hee had likely been happier then hee is at present, such a Counsellour I mean as would say unto him intrepidly, when hee tooke the course of stripping honest Gentlemen of their estates; my Lord I would desire to know what you resolve to doe, when you have by hooke and Crooke ingrossed the lands, and inheritances of Innocent persons, poore widowes and Orphans unto your selfe, when you have obtained all, is the thing you ayme at, only to make good cheare and be merry if this be your designe, you need not trouble your selfe soe much, nor expose your conscience to danger, nor your honour to such an Ignominious shame and infamy, (which shall

shall endure to all ages,) in taking away that which is not your owne ? farre better content your selfe as you are, and feast upon that great patrimony your Predecessors left, cannot that estate which maintained them honourably (without damaging any other) maintaine and content you ? but I see this is an euill familiar, those exalted to the height of greatness and favour in the Princes eye have noe Counsellours that will speak freely the truth, as worthy *Cineas* did to *Pyrrhus* ; few are neere Kings and Princes, can say that which *Seneca* requires to be said by Iust upright men, *Loquimur quod Sentimus, et Sentimus quod Loquimur*, this is a thing wanting in Court, *Homo qui dicat veritatem*, which *Seneca* excellently expressed to his frind, *Lucilius*, thus, *Monstrabo tibi cuius rei inopia laborant magna fastigia, quod omnia possidentibus, desit unum, Scilicet qui verum dicat* ; They live not in Courts and the houses of Kings that will severly speake, and sincerely the trueth, what man can without teares behold soe many great personages, even Christians in this age, that live, and doe farre wickeder things, then Gentils or pagans have don, or does, which had more respect and regard to theire
Idols

Idols (in whome they apprehended some
dictie) then those to the true and living God.

CHAPTER 12.

*If Ormonds attendance, and
service vpon the King in
his baniishment, met
with sufficient recom-
pence and reward;*

THis querie you may take to be someth-
ing extravagant, such another, as if
one had doubted whether it be day, even
when the sun shines, and is scorching of
the earth, putting men into such heat and
sweat, as they must of all necessity put of
theire Cloathes; however this querie is
quickly resolved, by calculating the yearly
rents *Ormond* had before the warre, and
conferring the same with this his present
estate, in doing of this, the work is don,
and

and your question resolved ; what rent say you had hee Immediately before the warre ? 7000. pound sterling noe more ? in as much , as that vast estate of his was engaged to men in long Leases , Morgaged , and incumbred with Annuityes ; what then is his present rent and estate ? neare vpon eighty thousand pound sterling annuall rent (and I doubt whether any subject in Europe have the like estate , som say hee hath more ,) but how coms it that a man , that came home naked and bare after soe many yeares toe and froe in the World , (as severall other noble men in poverty and need) came soe suddainely by such vast acquisitions ? This is quickly answered ; all was made over to him by the kings grant , as for Example , Six Corporations , (which his Ancestours never had) all the estates of his house leased , soe that the leasors are constrained to begg , hee had alsoe conferred vpon him the estates and lands of many honest faithfull subjects ; all this and more bestowed vpon him by his Majestyes free grant ; now see you whether his service and attendance vpon his Majesty , be plentifully requited or noe ? My Sentiments of Ormonds acquisitions

fitions I delivered in the case of Sir Robert
 Lynch as a bove, now whether the King
 hath duly and legally bestowed other mens
 estates vpon his Grace, is left to every
 mans thought, to think what hee will;
 however I am of this opinion, that (all
 being well considered by his Majesty, and
 this portentous liberality to that noble
 man, well examined,) his Majesty will
 finde but little content or joy therein, nay
 to the contrary, his Royall hart will be
 in an ocean of unquietness, seeing soe many
 deserving families numberless widdowes,
 Innocents and orphans, deprived of their
 proper right, tormented both at home and
 abroad to unspeakable wants, consumed
 by hunger, vermin, and miseries, and
 all this, to raise up the greatness of one
 man's familie, that was great enough of it
 selfe; If the Law of God or nature will
 allow of soe many thousand Innocents to
 perish and be destroyd, by depriving them
 of their rights and livelyhood, is a maxim
 that toucheth much his Royall wisdom, for it is written, that God will have a care
 of the widdowes and fatherless, and in
 due tyme will chastise and oppress the op-
 pressors of those; thousands of Innocents
 are

are sacrificed in this our age, to increase the estate of one man, can Iustice suffer this? can the mercifull breast of a mercifull King endure to see soe many specktales of woes and miseries without reliefe? will not God at long running looke downe vpon these vnlawfull proceedings? certainly hee will, and to the confusion of the possessors.

But Let us grant the parents of those Innocent creatures ran into a Rebellion, (as Ormond, Clarindon, and others falsly suggested to the King) have the little babes, (not borne at that tyme) been rebels? What have they don against the Crowne? Must they all perish and suffer for their Parents crimes? (crimes only Imputed to them, but never proved;) God himselfe sayes, *Filius non portabit iniquitatem patris.* „ The childe shall not beare the iniquity „ of his Father; but Ormond says the contrary, let them suffer and perish for the errours of their Parents, soe that I may be thereby both great and wealthy; *Iustitia Iusti* (sayes the Holy Ghost) *super eum, et impietas impij super eum*, The Iustice of the Iust fall vpon him, and the Impiety of the Impious vpon him; the quite contrary is in this case, for

R

the

the Iust have not found Iustice, nor mercy, the Innocent children (of the supposed rebels) are punished as Impious, left naked and to noe mercy. Saint Ierome his saying is not regarded in this place, *Nas virtutes, nec vitia parentum liberis Imputentur*, „ Let not the virtues, or vices of the parents be Imposed to the Children; there is a God above all, when hee comes to examine those open injustises, *Clarindon Ormond* and others and the rest (instruments of the ruine of soe many thousand honest families) will not appeare, all will be made more cleare to their confusion; but wee must leave the Innocent to God, who though hee is pleased to Chastise them with the Rod of his anger (out of his secret and Iust Iudgments, the which wee must adore) yet the cruelty of those afflicters, (who plunged as in an ocean of Calamaties) will not escape his severare sentence and Iustice. What a ridiculous conceipt is it, of some of *Ormonds* flatterers, who tell the World, *Ormond* waited on the *King* out of meer affection, and therby lost his estate and fortunes at home: truly noe man hath bine wiser (if it be wisdom to deuest and robb honest men

of

of their estates,) then *Ormond* in his acquisitions, which as the World sees, are great, but the Malediction of God doth follow things unjustly aquired, and likely the bread hee now eates dipped in the teares of widowes, and blood of the Innocent doth not taste sweetly :

I could not heare of any had the fortune that *Ormond* had in the time of the Kings exile, hee was still neare the King, knew all his *Arcana*, had the comfort and honour to suffer with his King, (a sufficient recompence for all his attendance) and at the same tyme his Lady (a wise woeman) was honoured and comforted by *Crumwell*; and her Children much carressed by his Children, soe Gracious was this Lady in *Crumwells* tyme, and in his eyes, that shee obtained three thousand pound or more for her Ioynter *per Annum*; who more inward with the King then *Ormond*? who more respected by *Crumwell* then the Lady of *Ormond*? and shee well requited *Crumwells* kindness, to his relations, cheefly to his sonne *Harry*, vpon the Kings restauration, who obtained vpon her knees from the King (as wee have been informed) that *Harry Crumwell* might enjoy the estate given him

in *Ireland* by his Father in the tyme of his *Protectorship*, among other lands hee had that of *Mr. Sedgrave of killegran* a good and ancient familie, which estate hee sold to one *Sir Patrick Moledy* knight, who possesseth it to this day, and the relict of said *Sedgraves* *Mistress Jane Nottingham* (a good and vertuous Lady) lives very poorly and in a sad condition with her Children, without loyn-ter or relief; and loe my Lady Dutches of *Ormonds* solicitations for *Harry Crumwell*, weare for the Childe of him that murdered the *Kings Father* and against a poor widow and her babes, a wedow whose Father and Kindred were ever faithfull to the *Crowne*, and were not these think you Godly, and misterious prayers and intercessions?



CHAPTER 13th.

How the frugality, and laudable husbandry of the ancient Renowned Heroes, did content it selfe, and have bine satisfied with small rewards given them, for their rare services by the common wealth.

Great reason, that deserving men should be looked vpon, and requited according the service don to their country or Prince; this custome hath been exercised in the best, and most flourishing common wealths of *Rome, Athens, Carthage, and Lacedemonia*, who reflecting vpon the deserts of their people, and services don the common wealth at home and a broad, did by statutes expresse eternize their names, and families vnto Posterity, as alsoe by gifts and rewards, And these (soe collated) munificencies, were by distinct names called, as some, by the name of *Adorea*, martiall praise,

another was called *Corona aurea*, a gold Crowne, *Navalis* a sea fight Crowne, for *Castrensis*, and *Obsidionalis*, a field and siege Crowne, &c. now and then they gave your *Hostas Deauratas* gilded sheres, and some times they gave certaine Akers of ground and measures of Corne, more or les as they deserved, and such measures were called *Hemina* which in phisicall measure is not three gallons; heere it is to be noted how great Heroes, and Champions anciently were recompenced: for their extraordinary services don to the (common-wealth) with small presents, and, well contented were they with the same, for great have been their frugal husbandry, and parcemonie in all their life, that hardly wee can give Credit to what historians write of their wonderfull moderation in their publick expences, of Pompes, feastings, and shoves; Great men were sober in those ages. *Titus Livius* tells us *Quintus Cincinnatus* was carried from the plough, to the dignity of a Dictator; which warre being ended, hee returned chearfully to the plough againe; hee relates alsoe how the Ambassadors of the *Samnites* found *Curius Dentatus*, another Dictator, making ready, and cleansing of rootes for his supper, and even at that tyme hee says,

hee says , there were noe more in all the Roman Armies of waiting men (such as wee call calones) but two : *Marcus Antonius* , not hee (that fatall man to Cicero , and to the Common-wealth ,) but a nother Chosen Consull of a great Armie design'd in to spaigne , had but eight servants ; soe *Carbo* in the same dignity placed , (as wee read) had but seven ; what shall I say of *Cato* the senior , who in the same Imployment , power and commission for Spaigne , had but three ; however this *Cato* named the censor (though contented wisely with such a small retennue) was Captaine Generall in their Armie , a famous oratour , and a prudent counselour reputed by the Common-wealth , (in the Common-wealth ,) and by all Rome for his sober life , was called a good father to his children , a good husband to his wife , a frugall houskeeper , and a man (a great praise in those days) well skill'd in the plough.

Epaminondas a famous Captaine , Protector , and flower of the *Thebans* , who fought soe many battaills valiantly , nevertheless it is written , hee had but one sute of Cloathes , which , when required reparation , hee was forced to keep house , till mended

and brought unto him ; This *Epaminonda* I speak of , dyed soe poore , as not soe much in his houle could be had , as to pay his funeralls , which was performed by the Common-Wealth.

What need I speak in this place of *Phocion* , *Socrates* , and *Iphaltes* , Miracles of nature , and wisest of Athens ? This *Phocion* , who fought 26. battaills , victorious allways , and triumphant over his enimies , yet a greater dispiser of riches , honours , and titles , (as histories doe testify ,) refused one hundred talents , sent unto him by *Alexander* the great as a *Present* , demaunding of those brought the *Present* , what was *Alexanders* meaning in sending to him alone , and only , that *Present* , they replied , for as much as hee takes you to be the only man of honour , and merit amongst the *Athenians* : to this hee answered briefly , why then let *Alexander* leave mee soe during my life , which is a thing I cannot be , if I receive and accept of his talents of gould ; vpon the same *Phocion* , *alexander* offered to bestow severall Citties , but hee answered the Messenger , goe , returne , and tell thy Master *Alexander* , that I took him to bee of soe noble a spiritt , as hee would doe nothing that

that might render himsele and mee infamous, which is like to follow if I accept of his gift, for hee will be esteemed a bryber and I taken for a corrupt man, and traitour, to my Country. in this place I could make mention of *Cato Iunior*, Glory of Rome, a man did hate to flatter any body, this *Cato* bravely opposed *Pompeius* the great in some things, and denyed him is Daughter in Marriage, saying I will not give my Daughter in hostage to *Pompeius*, for feare that hee himsele, (by that action) should be against the Common-wealth: yet after *Julius Caesar* became Tyrant, this *Cato* rancked himsele on *Pompeius* his side, soe much was this *Cato* addicted to poverty, and all sort of hard suffrings, that it is written of him, and of *Phocion*, that they went a great part of the yeare bare foot, and bare headed.

These prophane examples of those Heroick Champions, I have brought heer expressly to the great confusion of our Christian dissolut great personages, that they may see how these rare vertues shined, and were Imbraced by *Pagans*, which they abhor to exercise, or have seen in themselves, *Fragility*, *Humility*, *honest and discret poverty*, *zeal to their Country*, *contempt of wealth and honours*,

Honours, moderation in their poms, shewes, and, feasting. These are the virtues, and the weapons with which those ancient *Heroes* kept their common-wealth in peace and Concord, Glory, Wealth, and Prosperity, with these I say they have eternised their fame to future ages, not with *Pride, Ambition, Extortion, Emulation, Deceits, vaine Assentations, Gluttonies*, and the like vices familiar to Christian personages.

Certainly there is nothing procures in a Common-Wealth sooner, *Envy, & Discord*, betwixt person and person, then to see some very rich, and others very poore, (equality among fellow subjects is a precious pearle in a Common-wealth) for Commonly wealth puffs men up to such a height of pride, as to contemne and despise other beneath them, and they soe despised, cannot but beare enuy, and hatred to those despises them. *Omne pomum habet suum vermem, vermu autem diuitiarum superbia est*, every apple have its owne worme, the worme of wealth is pride; This age wee live in is mounted to the height of ambition and pride, wee are all going, or would faine goe beyond our reach, pride in our eyes, and pride in our thoughts, pride and ambition in all our

our actions, now a days forsooth to set forth an Ambassadour, wee must have a whole legion of servants in their retennue, as if his embassly could beare noe force otherwise unless the wealth of a Common-wealth must be exhausted to support those Extravagancies, Retennues, and needles traynes: whereas honest Cato the Consull (a greater man then they for dignity) contented himselfe with three servants.

* The Historian *Iustinus* giues us a rare Example of this. After a peace had bine concluded between the Romans and King *Pyrrhus*, *Cineas* was sent by him to the Romans for better confirming that agreement. *Ad pacem Confirmandam Cineas Romam cum ingentibus a pyrrho donis missus neminem, cuius domus muneribus pateret, invenit.* That is, For better confirming a peace with the Romans *Cineas* being sent to Rome with great presents found noe house open to receive those gifts. O rare contempt of gould and guits in Rome that in soe vast a Citty noe house was found, would receive gifts, noe doore open to *Cineas* with his gold, Alas there is noe such Citty now in *verum Natura*: It was Impossible such a Citty as Rome was then could be taken or betrayd.

* lib. 18.

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Wee have in *England* a rare Example of integrity in *Sir Thomas More* Chancellor of that Kingdom, A Lady presented him a cupp of gold, a while after a sentence was given for her in a just cause, *Sir Thomas* received the same; and much commended the workmanship and value therof, and then had it fill'd with spanish wine, and drank to the Lady, saying, Madam you gave mee a cupp of gold, but empty, be hold I bestow on you a cupp of gold fill'd with good wine and soe dismis'd her. O when shall *England* see againe such a Chancellor! certainly Chancellor *Hyde* was not such a man.

CHAPTER 14th

The rewards given by the Commonwealth of Rome unto two noble Romans Horatius Cocles and Cajus Musius for their rare services don to their Country.

THe right order is to begin with the exploits

exploits of the two noble Romans , and after to com unto the rewards and remunerations given them for their stupendious service ; *Titus Livius* the fluentest of historians *Libro Secundo Romana Hystoria* setts forth these gallant men's services in this nature ; having *Porfena* King of *Etrurians* beseiged Rome (saith *Livius*) *non unquam alias ante talis terror Senatum invasit , adeo ualida tum clusina erat , magnumque Porfena nomen , nec hostes modo timebat sed suos met rives , ne Romana plebs metu percussa receptis in urbem regibus , vel cum servitute pacem acciperet ;* „ Att noe tyme „ have such feare ceased the Senat , soe „ strong a thing then *Clusina* was ; and the „ great name of *Porfena* , which did not only „ feare the enemies but even their owne „ Cittizens , for apprehention the people „ of Rome stricken with feare of King's againe received into the Citty , and would „ accept of a peace with slavery :

Porfena made warre with the Romans , to have prou'd *Tarquin* their King admitted once againe , whome the same people banished a way with all that race , for the foul rape of chaste *Lucretie* and other Tyrannies , at this tyme there was a wooden bridg that crossed over the River *Tyber* supported by
many

many pyles fastened in the ground, through this Bridge, *Porfena's* men thought it easy to make their way into the Citty, *Horatius Codes* a noble Roman, (a man worthy of perpetuall prayes) had the keeping of this bridg, when hee saw all his men fall back and retyre, hee obtested and pray'd them by all that is, or can be deare to the Gods Immortall, and by the sacred liberty they were fighting for, to stick to him, and defend the Bridge, otherwise that the Enemies would quickly master the Bridge, and dispers themselves in the Capitall, and hart of Rome, insulting over the Circumscript Fathers, killing and putting all to the sword, men woemen and Children, hee Further desired and would have them stay, at least to cast and break downe the Bridge by all possible meanes, and that hee himselfe in the meane tyme would put a stopp to the Enemies, rushing in vpon them; this would not doe, they must away, two only of the number remaining by him; *Duos tamen* (saith *Livius*) *cum eo pudor tenuit, ambos claros genere factique S. P. Lactium, ac, T. Hermanium.* The rest at length by great entreaty Fell upon breaking the Bridge, and while they were in that worke, hee pray'd those

those two worthy men to goe back unto
 their Fellows, and hee alone stood look-
 ing vpon the Etrurians with flaming eyes,
 daring them to com, and try battail with
 him, upbraiding them with the name of
 slaves to Tyrants, that came to inuade the
 Roman liberty; the Army stood amazed, be-
 holding this unspeakable wonder, to see
 one man daring a whole Army, having made
 a loud cry, they let fly their darts at
 him, the which this gallant Roman receiued
 undaunted with his shield, drawing neare
 they endeoured to fling him downe from
 the Bridge, but the Romans having broo-
 ken downe the Bridge by this tyme, gave
 great outcries of joy; at this Horace being
 armed leapt into the river, (Saying) *Tibe-
 rine pater, te Sancte precor hac arma et hunc
 militem propitio flumine accipias*, notwithstand-
 ing the store of darts they flung at him in
 the river, hee gott a way safe, Swimming
 over to his owne people, who was very
 Ioyfully receiued: The Historian concludes,
*Rem ausus est plus fama habituram, ad posteros
 quam fidei;*, Hee attempted a thing that is
 „to have more fame by posterity, then
 „Creditt; In the meane tyme *Porsena* not-
 withstanding that this attempt of the Bridge
 had

had noe success, kept his close siege to the Citty, in manner that they were in evident danger to be at long running, overcome by his Army; Heer Succeeded a noble action, a gallant man *Caius Mutius* by name appeared to free the Citty from this Feare, a resolute young Gentleman, fervent in affection to his Country, as *Cocles* was, *Caius Mutius* his designe was to kill *Porfena*, the great enemy of Rome; resolving in his minde this great enterprize, hee came to the Senate and said, *Transire tiberim patres, & intrare si possim, castra Hostium volo, non praeda nec populationum invicem ulior, majus si dii Iuvant in animo est Facinus*; „ Fathers conscript, „ my resolution is to pass over Tiber, and „ soe rush into the enemies Camp, not „ to plunder, or to doe any devastation, „ For, if the Gods will but help mee, I „ have a greater matter in my minde; Of these expressions the *Senatours* approved much, hee departed, and soon came into theire Campe, having a knife or dagger under his coat to kill *Porfena*, and having approached the place the King was, it fell out, that it was a pay-dey with the Souldiers, drawing neare hee killed a Commissioner or Secretary neare the King, thinking

ing him to be the *King*, and soe gott a way,
 making place for himselfe with his sworde
 brandishing before him, till at last overlaid
 by the multitude, hee was taken, and
 brought before the *King*, being questioned
 who hee was, and from whence hee came,
 hee answered more like unto a man to be
 feared, then a man in feare; saying to the
King, *Romanus sum ciuis, C. Musium vocant,*
hostis hostem occidere volui, nec ad mortem minus
animi est quam fuit ad cadem, et facere, et pati
fortia Romanum est; „ A Cittizen of Rome
 „ I am, by name *C. musius*, I thought
 „ as an enemy, to Kill an enemy,
 „ neither is my hart backwarder to dye,
 „ then it hath bine forward to kill you,
 „ to doe, and suffer strong things is the
 „ part of a Roman. At which undaunted
 Expressions the *King* amaized and troubled,
 commaunded to inuiron him round about
 with fyre, but the Couragious young man
 putting his right hand in the fyre, and there
 holding it, as not feeling the fyre, (said
 generously,) *En tibi ! ut Sentias quam vile*
corpus sit ijs, qui magnam Gloriam vident;
 „ Behold ! that you may know how vile is
 „ the body to those who sees great glory;
 The *King* astonished at the hand burning

without any regard of payne, leap't out of his chaire and commaunded the young man to be removed from the Altar, and then said to him these Kingly words, *Tu verò ab in te majus, quam in me hostilia ausus, juberem multa virtute esse, si pro mea patria ista virtus staret, nunc jure belli liberum te, intactum, inviolatumque dimitto: tum Musius, quasi remunerans meritum; quandoquidem inquit est apud te virtuti honor, ut beneficio tuleris a me, quod omnis nequisti. Trecenti conjuravimus principi Inventus Romana, ut in te hac via grassaremur, mea prima fors fuit, ceteri, ut cuique ceciderit, primo, quo ad te opportunum fortuna dederit; suo quique tempore aderunt.* „ Be you gone, „ more Cruel to your selfe then to mee, „ I would wish you to be of good courage. „ if that vertue had been for my Country, „ by the Law of warre, I now dismiss you „ untouched, unviolated, to whome *Martin* said, as if to recompence the favour don, in as much as you regard vallour, and vertue, you gett that from mee by the benefitt you doe, which you could not by threats. 300. Of the Chiefest youths of Rome, wee have conspired to invade you in this nature, „ It fell out I should be the first, the rest each one in his owne turne,

as it

as it will fall out will performe their duty: *Mutius* being sent to the Romans (after this was called *Scavola* , for the burnings and wounds of his right hand ,) *Porssena* seeing his life was saved by chance that time , and that there were as yet 200. and ninty nine more of the Primest of Roman youth designed to the same expedition; of his owne accord hee offered the Romans a peace , and vpon honourable conditions ; one of them being (that which they desired aboue all) that hee would have noe more to doe with *Tarquin* , or his people ; *Albius* (said the King) *Hinc seu bello opus est , seu quiete exilio querant locum , nequid meam vobiscum pacem destineat , dictis facta meliora adjecit.*

Could there be more or nobler services don for a mans Country , then these *Horatius Cocles* and *C. Mutius* attempted ? it is not easy to be decided , which of these two shewed greatest vallour and affection to Rome ; *Cocles* hee alone fought a whole Army and freed the *Senate* ; the people from Massacres , and Rome from being taken ; *Mutius* terrifyed King *Porssena* , contemned the force of fyre and removed the siege by his strange example of fortitude vpon most

honourable conditions for the Romans;
 Oh two Glorious Champions of Rome!
 O Immortall Heroes! O Patriots flaming
 with charity and affection! when shall wee
 finde in this age such unspeakable services?
 Now as to the rewards given them.

What rewards think you had *Horace*,
 and *Scavola* given them? as to *Horace* (as
Livius says) *Grata erga tantam virtutem*
Civitas fuit, statua in comitijs posita: „ The
 „ Citty was kinde and gratfull towards
 „ such meritts and vertues, there was by
 „ order an image erected in the *Senate* house
 „ for him; I must confesse that I was honou-
 rably don, but what more? What other
 recompence and remuneration have they
 given? *Agri quantum vno die Circumagravit*
datum, „ As much ground as hee could in
 „ one day plough; What have they lotted
 for *Mutius*? *Patres* (sayd *Livius*) *Caio Mutio*
virtutis causa, trans tiberem agrum dono dederunt;
 to *Mutius* the *Senate* for his rare vertue hath
 given beyond the River *Tiber* a platt of
 ground as a gift, *Qui postea Mutia prata ap-*
pellata, „ which afterwards was called by
 „ the name of the *Mutian Green*; Heere
 you may see the recompence given to these
 incomparable men was but a few akers of
 ground

ground, with which theire Sobriety remained satisfied, having don all they did out of meer affection to theire Country, not for selfe end or hope of remuneration.

Having spoken of the rewards given by Rome to *Horatius Cocles*, and to *Mutius* for unparalleld services, let us consider with stupefaction the rewards and recompences the Duke of *Ormond* had for his services and attending vpon the King in time of his exile; I dare say, in the first place, there is none of the adorers of *Ormonds* vertues, (not one,) will presume to say, that the greatest of all his services hee did the King, came; or could com neare, those of the foresaid Romans; yet if wee compare both theire remunerations together, theires will appeare like a graine of sand, compared with *Mons Olympus*, as for the lands given him, hundred thousand of Akers, is the meanest gift of all; but what doe I speake of *Ormond*, Lord of a most ancient family of Earles of above 300. Yeares (The first Earle of that family *Iohn Butler* by name, was created in the Raigne of *Edward* the third, anno. 1328.) When *George Lane* his recompences are mounted to an vnreasonable measure, a man

inferiour to thousands, both for his birth, and service to the King, *Ormonds* Secretary now *Sir George Lane* ? this *Lane*, by the Kings grant of other mens estates enjoys many thousand Akers of ground, farre more then *Cochles*, or *Mutim*, the deliverers of Rome had, this new knight had conferred vpon him, the estates of two worshipfull esquires, that of *Mr. Thomas Wading* of *Waterford*, and that of *Mr. Phillip Hors* of *Kilbalchan*; the seat of *Kilbarr* neare *Waterford* hee hath from the former, , a delicious place, with the whole estate vpon a thousand pound a yeare, and *Kilbalchan* within seven miles of *Dublin*, a faire seat with the livings of eight hundred pound yearly, these Gentlemens Children (which were many in number) by this munificencie, are to shift for themselves in great misery, the Lord knowes in whar condition they are in, and this befalls them and severall others, that *George Lane* should be gratified (an unknowne man) For writing for *Ormond*, hee has had conferred vpon him, other estates, in all neare vpon foure thousand pound annuall rent, (this wee are informed) brave rewards for a Secretary; I dare confidently say stout and valiant
Collo.

Collonells , Officers , and Gentlemen of quality, which firmly adhered to the King, Fought stoutly for him, and lost both life in the bed of honour, and estates in his service, have not, nor any of theirs, in reeompence received the least provision, reward, or comfort: in this I may say that *George Lane*, his penn hath been more Fortunate and profitable to him, then these noble Gentlemens swords have been unto them: a sad incouragement, and cold Satisfaction to worthy *Royalists* to see this little *Lane* and such like night-sprung-musheroms to have suckt the Fattness of the earth from farre better plants then themselves, and perhaps the hands of as low men as themselves, will be ready to pluck them up root and branch, when the season shall serue, to cleare the Land of such weeds; by what meanes this will com to pass I am quite Ignorant, but I think the Iustice of God will make way for it, and take, not only from *George Lane*, and men of that ranck, but even from *Ormond*, and the greatest of them all, the conferred estates of honest men, for seldom the blessing of God doth accompany unjust plunderes and Robbers. And it is the opi-

nion of severall true harted subjects to his Majesty, that things are not like to prosper with himsele, untill this be don,

But I heare sum body say, *Ormond* hath don the King great service, though hee hath not preserved the Monarchie of Brittain, as *Cochles* and *Musius* did that of Rome, and that his affection to King and Country have been as great as theirs to the *Senat*, and common wealth of Rome, occation being only wanting: as For his affection to King and Crowne, I beleeeve hee had as much as another noble man, (but to his Country, where hee hath his estate and lands hee had none at all.) If affection to the king can draw rewards, and Remunerations, there be thousands loved the King, and the intrest of the Crowne of England as much as *Ormond* ever did, and appeared undoubtedly in all occations, against the Kings enemys, nevertheless thousands of them never had an Aker of ground, nor a Cottage to shelter themselves in, in frosty weather, in recompensation of such affection: therfore I doe heire conclude that *Ormond* was happily Fortunate in his affections to the King, and Crowne, and others were not, having obtained those Extraordinary
rewards

rewards from his Royall Majesty, which in the insuing Chapter I doe resolve more amply to discover, and speak of.

CHAPTER 15th

The Remunerations the Duke of Ormond had from the King after his Restauration

These remunerations will bee found soe great, that you must needs confess *Ormond* was not Loyall gratis; neither doe I in any way doubt but there be som Bassa's of the great Turck, and some of the chiefest of them would come and serve our King, and serve him Loyally for soe incredible a recompence as *Ormond* had; Let us now speak of the quantity and quality therof according the best notice wee have received. Wee have said above his Annuall rents before the warre was but seven thousand pound sterling (his ancient estate being then incumbred with Annuityes, and Leases, which otherwise was worth forty thousand pound sterling

sterling per Annum) and at present it is vpon *Eighty thousand*, now the first part of his new great reuennues is the Kings grant of all those lands of his owne estate which were leased, and morgaged; the rest were grants of other mens Estates, and other gifts of his Majesty: for auoyding the trouble of searching after all his particulare gettings, (many there are without doubt unknowne to mee) I will here put downe certaine Quæres in number 29. Out of which, hee, that will, may take notice of these Immenſe recompences given him.

*Quæres touching the Present Condi-
tion of his Majesties Kingdom
of IRELAND*

1. **W**Hether it be not demonstrable by search made into the Records of his Majestys Auditor General of *Ireland*, that had his Majestys Revenue of that Kingdome been well managed, there had been money enough to answer the necessary Charge of that Kingdom?

2. Whether vpon search made of his Majesties

Majestyes Exchequer in *England*, there doth not appear upwards of 200000 l. Sent out of *England* into *Ireland* since the Duke of *Ormonds* last Government there?

3. Whether there doth not appear that there were twenty four subsidies amounting to 260000 l. Assessed by the late Parliament of *Ireland*?

4. Whether there was not 50000 l. advanced out of the Soldiers and Adventurers Rents?

5. Whether the aforesaid Summs thus extraordinarily raised, do not amount to above six hundred thousand, pounds?

6. Whether the aforesaid extraordinary Summs would not discharge near Four Years of his Majesties Establishment both in the Civil and Martial List, Independently of the Revenue of that Kingdom?

7. Though the aforesaid Summs Extraordinarily raised would have paid near Four Years Establishment, yet whether the Martial and Civil Lists be not a Year and half in arrear?

8. Whether his Majestyes Ordinary, certain and Casual Revenue, which if well managed, might have fully paid his Majesties necessary Charge, whether vpon the
afore-

aforesaid Principles it is not demonstrable, that the said revenue hath not discharged more then one year and a halfe Establishment in six years time?

9. Whether it be not demonstrable then, that there hath been more then Four years and a half Revenue embesled in six years time: and whether the chief Governour be not more Faulty in this great miscarriage, then the Earle of *Anglesey*.

Quæres in Relation to the Lord Duke of Ormond.

1. **W**Hether by sales of Offices, as Lord Steward and receits out of his Majesties Exchequer of *England*, the Lord Duke of *Ormond* hath not raised upwards of 30000 l?

2. Whether he did not receive by one Act of Parliament of *Ireland* as a gift, 30000 l?

3. Whether it doth not appear by the Records of his Majesties Tresurie in *Ireland*, that his Grace did receive 12000 l. Before his being last Levtenant?

4. Whether he did not receive 12000. l. *Per Annum* as Lord Levtenant, which was a Moyetie

Moyetic more than any Lord Levtenant received ; and that Moyetic amounts in six years to 36000 l ?

5. Whether it doth not appear that his Grace hath released by the Act of Settlement 60000 l ? due to honest men and good Subjects, vpon his Estate before the Rebellion ?

6. Whether his Grace hath not received 30000 l. out of Soldiers and Adventurers Lands, which he invaded and entered vpon without any Title, as appears by the Records of the Court of *Claymes* in Ireland, which hath decreed the Lands from him ?

7. Whether by the Act of Explanation he hath not got the Citty of *Kilkenny*, and six other Corporat Townes, together with their Lands and Liberties, valved by himselfe and his friends of the Councell but at 60000 l. though they are well worth 120000 l ?

8. Whether he did not obtain by a special warrant from his Majestie 72000 l. out of the Soldiers and Adventurers half year Revenue ?

9 Whether there is not confirmed to him 50000 l. More by the Explanatory Act, for waving a grant which he got by the Act of Settle-

Settlement?

10. Whether he had not got as many Gentlemens Estates, vpon the pretence of a grant of enjoying all Lands that he could prove (by witnesses) to have payed him any Chiefrey, as is worth at least 150000 l. and whether also, he hath not obtained that for the said Lands, no quitt Rent be paid to the King, which grant at 3d. An Acre *per annum* amounts to 26000 l?

11. Whether he hath not abitrarily layd vpon the Inhabitants of the City of Dublin 8000 l. *Per Annum*, amounting (for these six years past of his Government) to 48000 l?

12. Whether he hath not against the Fyndamental Laws and *Magna Charta*, inclosed divers parcells of Land belonging to the kings good subjects without their consent, to the value of 1500 l. *per Annum* at the very gates of *Dublin*, to the great prejudice of that City and the Country; the profit of which Land and Park, he hath bestowed vpon the Lord of *Dungannon* and Colonel *Cook*?

13. Whether it be credible, that his Grace is zealous for the English and Protestant Interest, seeing it is not possible for the

So-

Soldiers and Adventurers to be reprimed according to his Majesties gracious Declaration, when his Grace hath swallowed up in gifts and grants the best part of the Stock of Reprimands, and hath made or permitted such Embellishments of his Majesties revenue, and applied the Royal authority, wholly to gain vast advantages to himself, and whether by preferring his own private gains and grants, before the Publique good and the just right of the Adventurers and Soldiers, he hath not unsettled the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and unsatisfied the two main interests of Protestants (the Soldiers and Adventurers) to such a degree, that it is to be feared, it will be a continual charge to *England*, to keep to the rules of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation so destroyed and desperate a people: and whether all this expence, trouble and danger, for preserving the Duke of *Ormond* and his Family (that is as much *Irish* as any can be) in other mens Inheritances, and Rights, be the interest of *England* or agreeable to the Maxims of sound Policy or of Christian piety?

14. Whether such of his Majesties Protestant Subjects of *Ireland*, as have escaped the Duke of *Ormonds* Proviso have not just grounds

grounds to fear that if the same Duke of *Ormond* should continue in his *Gouvernement*, and press, as now he doth, the Payment of 100000 l. they will not be in a condition to live, or to pay his Majesties quit Rents, and the necessary charges of the Kingdom?

15. Whether after the Prohibition of transporting Cattle, and so much oppression, by the Lord Lieutenant and his Creatures, it be possible For his Majesties empoverished Subjects of *Ireland*, to pay the 300000 l. assessed by the Explanatory Act, whereof the First 100000 l. is for his Grace?

16. Whether his Grace had not a great regard For his Majesties service, when he lately pressed the King and Council to call a Parliament in *Ireland*, For imposing new Taxes vpon that miserable people, and For confirming all his own new acquisitions, whereby the Soldiers, Advenrurers and Nominees are defrauded of his Majesties intended Favours, and the *English* interest utterly destroyed?

17. Whether the Duke of *Ormonds* gifts and grandis amount not unto 630000 l. and whether this Summe would not have satisfied all the *English* Interest of *Ireland*, and have settled the Protestants and well meriting Natives

Natives of that Kingdome in peace; whereas now his Majesty and all Christendom is troubled with their Clamours against the breach of Publique Faith, and all this stir, destruction of the people, and discredit of the Government, to humour one particular man, whose merit is not so extraordinary, as his management hath been vnsuccessful.

18. Whether not only some of the Nobility of *Ireland* but very many of the Nobility, Knights and Gentry of *England* have not lost greater revenues, and richer moveables for being Cavaliers, then the Duke of *Ormond*, whose Estate was much incumbered, and his rents before the rebellion exceeding not 7000 l. per Annum, and during the Warr, got more by his Government of *Ireland*, and giving up *Dublin*, then he could if he were in possession of his Estate?

19. Whether such as endeavoured to conceal these miscarriages and miseries of the Kingdom of *Ireland* From his Majesties and the Parliaments knowledg, and yet strive to have the Duke of *Ormonds* destructive Government continue, deserve not to be questioned by the Parliament, as betrayers of the Publique good, and of the Lawes and Liberties of *England*?

T

10. Whe-

20. Whether it be fit, that the Govern-
ment of *Ireland* should continue so long in
one person, as it hath in the Duke of Or-
mond, though he were not an Irish man,
and all his relations were not Papists, and
very great Enemies of the English and Pro-
testant interest?

What man can apprehend or read these
incredible gettings, and recompenses (given
Ormond) without amaizement? By the nine
first Quæries you see his grace is as yet
countable for many thousands, of thousands
of the two hundred thousand pound, sent
out of *England* into *Ireland*, since his
last goverment there; and of the three hun-
dred and sixty thousand pounds assessed by
the Parliament of *Ireland*; and fifty thousand
pound advanced out of the Soldiers and
Adventerours Rents; and that notwith-
standing those vast Summs, the Marshall,
and Civil listes were a yeare and halfe in ar-
rears; Let his Majesty call him to question,
or Forgive him, both is in his Royall
breast to doe; in the 20. Quæries in relation
to the Lord Duke of Ormond himselfe, you
will finde that hee received in all, as in
gifts, and grants, that amounted to six
hundred and sixty thousand pound sterling:

if this wonderfull and strange masse of treasures be not a sufficient Recompence and reward, Let the reader Iudge; For this amounts (according to Marchants rating a Tunn of gould) to sixty three tunns of gould; one Tunn of gould only makes a great noyse, and surely is a vast summ of monys; What then shall wee say of sixty three Tunns? Wee finde in the Cronicles of England that thirty thousand markes, or Forty thousand, to have been a Queens Dote in Marriage, *Elleoner* Daughter to *Knig Edward* the second, married to the Earle of Gelders, (after made Duke) had but fiftien thousand pound portion, *Queen Isabell* Dowager to said *Edward* the second and mother to *Edward* the third (most Glorious of English Kings) daughter and Heire to *Phillip* the Faire of France, (by whose title the Kings of England makes Clayme to the Kingdome of France) had allowed her by her son but a thousand pound *Ioynter* a yeare, severall such passages wee may finde in the Cronicles of England, and others; yet the Duke of *Ormond*, as is to be seen in the 12th Quærie of those in Relation to *Ormond*, granted the profit of a rent of one thousand five hundred pounds a yeare (of the parke hee hath neare the

Gates of Dublin,) to the Lord of *Dungan-
non*, and to Colonell *Cooke* a Kingly Libera-
lity.

If Father *Walsh* or any other will say, that these *Queries* are Idle, Frivolous, needless, and of noe regard, I would aske of the same, and know whether matters of Fact, and *Propositiones sensu nota* (as are the Estates and lands of other men, and the Corporations now actually in *Ormonds* possession, things that cannot be hidden From the Eyes of men) are Idle, needless, and Frivolous dreames and Fables? noe, but Foule, and unhandson things against Justice, honour, trust committed unto him, and Government of that Kingdome of *Ireland*, conferred by his Majesty vpon *Ormond*:

If his grace or any for him, can answer the sayd *Queries*, why is hee, or they soe long mute and silent? they strick home to the quick, they render his integrity suspected, they wound his Fame and honour; certainly if there were any way to answer them, and to prove them False, Father *Walsh* had long before now spoken Loudly to the World; If *Ormonds* integrity and vertues be Calumniated by these
Quæ-

Queries, I wonder there is nothing said
 in his vindication; none appears for him;
 but what? in a matter that cannot be de-
 fended, it is but wisdom to be silent; the
 whole Country knowes, that Father
Walsh, of all men is most concern'd to ap-
 peare for *Ormond*, and vindicate his inte-
 grity the best hee can, having in his severall
 writings described him for a vertuous, up-
 right, lust, Iudicious, and most rare states-
 man, now is the tyme good Friar to prove
 this, you see to what puzzle hee is brought
 vnto, by these Quæries? you see how guil-
 ty hee is on all sides? stretch him now your
 hand if you can, and bring him of clearly
 and unspottedly from all these blemishes,
 that staynes his person soe deeply, now is
 the tyme, I say, to prove him to the world,
 what you gave in paper of him, and make
 us all sensible that hee is deserving of those
 Epithites, you are pleased to conferre vpon
 him, in the little book called the *Irish*
colours Foulded, you have put downe a
 Faire method, and good documents I must
 confess, for guiding of *Ormond* in the
 Charge of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*,
 where you bid him by all meanes to be
 ware of the man of sin, (*Meaning Ormery*)

Who would have his Grace buy up our interest wholly, that is the stronger, and more prevalent, of Orrery and his complices; and suck utterly the other interest; that of the Catholicks, against all devine and humane Lawes; many ridiculous things of this nature hath this Fryar said about his Ormond, and this was one; but Ormond contrary to his desire and Counsell buoyed up Orrery's interest, and suck the Interest of the innocent party, because it was the weakest; For which hee had a notable share of the grants, and estates hee now Enjoyeth.

I see good Father you are very unfortunate in your conceits of Ormond; who grants nothing of these things you demaunded; I have a minde to produce in this place, other lynes of this Fryar (unto Ormond) out of the same Foulded Colours; My Lord (Quoth hee) I shall minde your Grace of what you know your selfe already, that you shall behold under your Government a very great number of simple poore Innocents and most afflicted Creatures, if any such be in the World, and what you think that God hath Principally created you, and hithertoe preserved you amidst so many dangers, and now at last inspired our gracious King to send you for them, and therefore that your
grea-

greatest care must be to open to them your breast
 with an amorous compassion, extend to them the
 bowells of your Charity, stretch to them affecti-
 onally your helpfull hands, take their requests,
 lend care to their eyes, cause their affaires to
 be speedily dispatched, not drawing them along
 in delays, which may devour them, strengthen
 your Arme against those that oppressed them,
 redeem the prey out of the Lyons throte, and the
 Harpi's talons. By these expresions one
 would have thought Ormond to be aman,
 like to doe great things, but here wee
 have much smooke, and noe fyre, faire
 blossoms, and noe Fruite, excellent docu-
 ments given, and yet nothing done; take
 the paynes Father to goe up and downe
 Ireland, and heare afflicted Innocent peo-
 ple, and make a list) of those, to whome
 Ormond in tyme of his Government
 Opened his hart with an amorous compassion, to
 Whome hee did extend the bowells of his charity,
 to Whome hee did stretch out his helpfull
 hands, those Whom hee preserved out of the
 Lyons throat, or the Harpies Talon. You
 will com to short of your vaticinations,
 and hopes, nothing like this; but rather
 hee was the Lyon prey'd on them, and did
 noe Iustice to the Orphans as you desired,

Not Wype a Way the teares of a forelorne Widow;
 bee sleept not in oyle the yeake of a people, Which
 lived on gale and WormWood, and Whoe, sigbel
 under unsupportable necessities, Hee hath don
 nothing in his Government for the ease of
 that people, but along with Orrey and
 the rest pild, and pul'd them of all: truly
 good Father you seem to mee a man much
 enchanted, and indeed to be in a state of
 blyndness as to your understanding, that Har-
 passe was in her corporall sight, of whome
Seneca, Epist: quinquagesima ad lucilium wri-
 tes in this forme, *Harpassem uxorem mea fatu-*
am seu hereditarium donum in domo mea, reman-
sisse, hac fatua subito desijt videre, incredibilem
sibi narro rem, sed veram, nescit esse se caecam,
subinde pedagogam suam rogat ut migret, ad
domum tenebrosam esse; „ Harpastes, you
 „ know, the changling of my wife is a
 „ Hereditary legacy in my house, this chan-
 „ gling suddainly lost her sight, I tell you
 „ an incredible thing, but true; shee doth
 „ not beleve that shee is blinde, now and
 „ then shee desires of her guide to remoue
 from thence, shee says the house is darke
 „ and obscure.

I am much of opinion Father Wal/b, that
 this is your condition, in relation to what
 you

you say, or write of *Ormonds* affaires, and person; and soe I take my leave in this place of both, leaving you in your manyfold blindnesse in as much, as you will not see; and leaving your *Ormond* to the Fruition of these vast recompences, or as rather I *should say*, Robberys of poore orphans and widowes, which will have noe good end; soe much be said of his recompences, received, and rewards; in the next Chapter I shall give a distinct, and the briefest accompt I can of the manifest Iniurys hee hath don to his Country, and Countrimen.

CHHPTER. 16th

*A Relation of some particular Iniuries
the Duke of Ormond hath
don his Countrymen*

*His subverting our Union with
Vlyssian practizes.*

NOT withstanding all the trust and confidence the generality of that people placed in *Ormond*, both great and small,
yet

yet little affection did hee show to his country, or Countrymen; the first Injury and stratagemme have bine to worke a diuision amongst them, hee was the man let fall the venemous apple of *discord* in the middle of that vnited body; their vnion, (the basis of all prosperity) continuing, noe power, noe enemy was able to preuaile against them; this union was our onleyest bulwark, and would prove (if not subuerted,) Formidable to our Enemyes at home, and a broad that Commonwealth doth prosper, whose Cittizens are of one accord; *Concordia res parua crescunt, discordia res magna dilabuntur.* Ormond his chief Imagination hath bin to take away this vnion, the life of our confederacie; what people, common-wealth, or nation more knitt in mutuall Charity, (at the first beginning of the warre) then wee? The Bishops, Clergie, Noblemen, Gentry, townes and Cittys, and the common people looked all one way, all possessed with the same flame of Religious zeal to preserve, and recover our libertys, Country, and religion, all were *Cor unum, et anima vna*, whilst Parsons, and Burlace did gouerne in Dublin, and soe had wee still continued if Ormond had not been chosen *Lord Lieutenant*; by whole

whose influence vpon the people all was lost, subuerted, and supplanted.

If you demaund how could *Ormond* destroy this vnion, and would his relations, even and dearest frinds, which tooke the oath of association, becom perjurous, and perfidious for *Ormonds* sake? Would they Forsake the sacred confederacy, and the best quarel in the world for his respect? I doe not meane to say, thes affected him most were, perfidious and perjourous to the country, yea I hould his relations and friends to have been good catholicks, how then say you could *Ormond* debauch them from theyr union and confederacie? his Excellencie, you must understand, had a great number of his relations among us, and many more persons of good qualitie, that had nothing to doe with him, held him for a man of great integritie and affection to his countrie, and tooke him for a man of vertu, Iustice, and sound Iudgement, a man that had power to doe us good, and a good willingness thereunto, and hoped that he would represent unto the king our oppressions and burdens under cruel statesmen, that destroyed and enslaved the subjects by their sleights and cunning artifices, and in fine that he would prove the deliverer
this

of this concept, which proved but adreame;
 conferred all mens affection vpon him, recea-
 ving and embracing all the reasons, and
 such sentiments as hee pleased to infuse unto
 them, and ordered all theyr course (in all
 wisdom, as they thought) by his ways, and
 dictamen, by this meanes were undermined
 our union, and our quarrel destroyed, *Ormonds*
 persuasions prevailing in court and countrie,
 his reasons were esteemed the best and wis-
 est; his friends and Faction crys *Ormond* is a
 wise man he loves our interest, understands
 our cause rightly; this publick confidence
 well knowne, hath been no smale meanes
 for him to deceive his Friends, and they
 deceived the Generalitie, possessing them
 with such and such imaginations, till at
 last we grew in good earnest could in
 our proceedings; dissensions sprung up,
 and our union (the life, and strength of
 our countrie) dissolved and broken, deso-
 lation and destruction run over all places,
 we then began to disagree in our consultati-
 ons and debates about the publick; Ialousies
 inuaded our assemblies, difference rose
 between such and such Families, between
 Noble men, Gentrie, and even amoung the
 Bishops and cleargy, some speaking high
 of

of the brittish interest, others of the interest of religion, and countrie: in the conclusion we came to be *regnam in se divisum*: in the meane time Ormond, who had acted his part soidly, said to his counsel, and compli-ces, *Divisum est cor Catholicorum*, *jam interibunt* my worke is don, they are broaken, they are at variance one with an other, they sprosper noe more. That you may more plainly see the influence this great man had over the confederat Catholicks in the supreme counsel, who gouverned all (consisting of 12.) You may know he had usually six of that number, for his trusty friends, the first was Richard Lord Viscount Mongret (at the beginning of the warr, and for a great whyle President of the counsel) this Lord was Brother to Ormonds grandmother, the second was donogh Lord Viscount Musgue (after Earle of Clancartie) who married Ormonds eldest sister, Mr. Richard Bealings Secretarie to the counsel and a member therof, married to said Viscount Mounsgarets Daughter, Mr. Grat fenel Doctor physick, intimat domestickcounsellour to Ormond for som yeeres, Mr. Patrick Darcy a Famous lawyer, counsell in law to the house Ormond, Mr. Gessery.

Browne

Browne a sound and good lawyer ; and *Sr. Lucas Dillon* knight an able personage , both much addicted to *Ormonds* Wayes esteeming them the best : as for the Lord of *Mounsgaret*, he was a plain simple man , but the other five were substantiall *Peeces* as the land could afford , *Ormond* was their delight darling , and Ioy , and though they had witt sufficient to understand his ways , and ponder his euill designes , this they have not don , but rather gaue him full scope to worke what hee pleas'd , out of the fore-spoken confidence placed in him ; by this meanes these wise-men were deceiued , deluded , and inueagled away , and wee with them ; our repentance is to late , and without remedy , and wee finde our error Fatall and irrecoverable , and wee have lived to see *Ormond* close with our deadly enemys , and himselſe the greatest enemy of them all *Sed ſero Sapiunt phruges.*

This Lethean cupp ministred by *Ormond* unto us , the confederates , stupified our wil ſoe much , as wee could neither understand nor perceiue one another , wee became much like to the confusion of *Babell* , when one ſought for ſtone , the other gave him ſand , when ſand , hee brought him ſtones,
 But

But the first stepp to our confusion was treaties of cessations, by those conferences hee deceived our people, who went still vpon the opinion of his affection, hee spunn us out with new devices, and delays, and in the Intrin wee omitted the oportunity of doeing service, wayting dayly for apeace, for *Ormond* had brought us to that fools paradise, as we neglected our owne preservation, great matters hee promised to our committie of treaty, a good peace, the which when wee had, was worth nothing, as formerly said, where I advertised you how the Committie of treaty failed to performe the instructions given them, and to conclude noe peace without insisting on them, but cleare sighted men, that trusted not in *Ormond* as those men did, found those articles to be a plaistered bussiness, as a boue said. If *Ormond* had power from the King to grant better Articles, then the thirty Articles; will not your understanding be convinced, that hee playd fouly with the confederate Catholicks, and that his intention was not frindly nor honest, and that his only designe hath bine to deceive us? his Majesty in a letter to *Ormond* december the fiftienth 1644. Oxford hath these words,

Or

Ormond.

I am sorry to finde from Colopell Barry the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot find see good and speedy remedie as the peace of Irland, it being likewise to redresse most necessary affaires heere, wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which, I hope my publick dispatch will give you sufficient instructions and power &c. Some what lower downe he hath thes Words, and to show this is more then words, I doe hierby promise them, and command you to see it don, that the penal statutes against Roman Catholicks shall not be put in execution &c. and concluds the letter thus, for recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Irland and my necessary supplie from thence, as I Wrot you in my last privat letter, I rest. Of an other letter to the Marques of Ormond Feb: 1644. Oxford are these words. And now again I can not but mention vnto you the necessitie of hastning of the Irish peace, for which I. hope: you are already sufficiently furnished from me of materi-alls, but in case peace cannot be had vpon those termes you must not by any meanes fall to a new rupture with them but continue the cessation: according to a postscript in a letter by Iack Barrys, a coppie of which a dispatch I. Heere with send you,

609

see I rest.

POSTSCRIPT

IN case vpon particular mens fancies, the Irish peace should not be procured, vpon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needlesse) to seeke to renew the cessation for a yeare, for which you shall promise the Irish (if you can have it noe cheaper) to joyne with them against the Scot and Insiquin &c. Those Letters are to be seen in the Kings book stiled *Reliquia sacra Carolina*. By thes lines you see how clearly his Majestie insisted vpon a peace with the Irish, and sayled not to that effect to send Ormond materials sufficient to satisfie the Irish catholicks, having heard theyr complaints and theyr reasonable articles, for they demanded no other then the libertie of theyr religion, benefit of theyr estates and privileges, yet Ormond in his peace of 30. Articles granted not thes things, nor was it in his thought to joyne with us against the Scot and Insiquin the Kings professed enemies, who owned for theyr master the vsurping power, and parlement of England, and there were reports grounded vpon very good presumptions, that he sent some of his forces

to assist the Scots in the North against us.

* wee come now to a third and maine agrivance and injurie done the confederat Catholicks, which was the yealding up of *Dublin castel*, sword and all to the Parliament; not withstanding that the *Queen* and *Prince* sent from *Paris* a gentleman expressly instructed to his excellencie, to prevent the giving up of these places to the Kings enemies and rather to close up a peace with the Catholicks (the only way then appearing for settling the Kings affaires) this action hath been one of the vglyest things *Ormond* ever did, to render therfore my reader fully capable of this perfidious proceeding, I shall be forced to enlarge my selfe therevpon, this will be made cleare out of a discourse of the Journey that the Agent sent from the *Queen* and *Prince* (*Mr. Wintergrant* a Catholick Gentleman) made himselte, who came to *Ormond* with his letters and instructions before he had given up the castell of *Dublin*; (the cittie was rendered before to the parliament) the cheefest part of the discourse runs thus, his Majestie beeing a prisoner at *bomby*, and all negotiation for his deliverance and restablshment rendered frivtleff, it was thought fitt by the *Queen* and *Prince of wales*

with

* 3 Injury.

with thoyr counsel, that some body should be sent to Irland with letters and instructions to my Lord of Ormond for settling of a peace in that Kingdome, for that purpose said Mr. Wintergrant was chosen, and accordingly received certain instructions sent by the Queen, all these instructions tended to the settlement of peace between the confederat Catholicks and the Kings partie, as appeareth by the expreis words of the second instruction: you shall informe the said Lord Lieutenant how sensible we and the Prince are, of the present troubles, of the Kingdom, as well in consideration of the Kings affayres in generall, as Particularly out of the apprehension of the great and imminent danger that may thereby happen to those which yet remain under the obedience of him the said Lord Lieutenant, and how desirous we and the Prince are to contribut all that is in our power to reconcile the things in question between the said Lord Lieutenant and the confederat Catholicks of Irland, whereby all of them may bee firmly Vnited under the authoritie of our dearest Lord the King and thereby inabled to defend themselves against the common enemy, and seasonably assist the King in his other dominions: he also brought letters to the Lord Nuncio and Romain cleargy and to severall noble men, and to certaine

corporations and citties to be first shewed to Ormond and as he pleased to be delivered or not delivered, all was left to Ormonds breast, and this Mr. Wintergrant was to pursue all his instructions in such manner as the Lord Lieutenant shall thinke fitt, and in all other things you shall saith the instruction governe your selfe according to the advice and orders of the said Lord Lieutenant, In the sixt instruction are these words; If he the said Lord Lieutenant shall direct you to repayre to the Lord Nuncio, Assembly, Clergy, or supreme counsel of the Irish nation, or to the Generall assembly now met at Kilkennie, you shall vpon all occations, when your dūcretion shall think fitt, publish a vow and declare the great inclination which we and the Prince have to contribut effectually all that shall be proper for us and him, to the speedy concluding a happy peace in Irland

These were one sort of instructions I receiued saith Mr. Wintergrant, which were not to be kept soe privat but that they were in some cases communicable, but these that follow not soe,

Privat

Privat instructions.

„**Y**ou shall deliver to the *Lord Lieute-*
 „*nant* of *Ireland* fourtien blanks now
 „given to your possession by vs, and
 „the *Prince*, two wherof were loyntly signed
 „by vs, and the *Prince*, six other signed by
 „vs alone, and the other six by the *Prince*
 „alone.

„You shall acquaint the *Lord Lieutenant*
 „that wee and the *Prince* doe authoriz and
 „apoint him to fill vp all the said blanks
 „in such manner, and to such purpose,
 „and with such contents, as hee shall
 „think most proper for the service of our
 „dearest Lord the *King* in his Irish affai-
 „res, and you shall assure him the said
 „*Lord Lieutenant* that as wee and the *Prince*
 „repose this trust and confidence in
 „him, that hee shall make vse of them as
 „hee shall think fitt, for the advancement
 „of the peace in *Ireland*; soe will both of
 „vs at all tymes auow, and Iustify those
 „Instruments soe to be filled vp by him
 „as our owne acts, and as don by our owne
 „particular directions, and commaund:
 „you shall more particularly acquaint the
 „*Lord Lieutenant* from vs, and the *Prince*,
 „that if in the treaty of peace, or in the

„ conclusion thereof; hee desires to be assisted
 „ with any further Authority grounded vpon
 „ any letters sent to him from the King or
 „ otherwise in our power, then wee de-
 „ sire him the said *Lord Lieutenant* to fill
 „ vp the blanks signed by vs, or the *Prince*
 „ with such authority from vs, or from
 „ vs and the *Prince*, or from the *Prince*
 „ only in such manner as hee shall finde
 „ most proper, and conducing to such a
 „ peace.

„ You shall likewise particularly acquaint
 „ him the *Lord Lieutenant*, that if hee shall
 „ finde it proper for the advancement of
 „ the peace there, that your selfe, or your
 „ selfe with any others now in *Ireland* should
 „ in our name, and authorised by vs, re-
 „ paire to the assembly Generall now held
 „ at *Kilkennie*, or the supreme Counsel
 „ of the *Irish*, or to any other body or per-
 „ sons with the overtures of a treaty or any
 „ particular, in order to, concerning or
 „ conducing to the same; our desire is,
 „ and wee hierby authorise him the said
 „ *Lord Lieutenant* accordingly that hee
 „ should fill vp one or more of the said
 „ blanks, signed by vs in the nature of
 „ a commission letter, or instructions with
 such

„such authority from vs, and in such manner,
 „as hee shall think fitt, and that hee
 „would accordingly insert the name of
 „such person or persons as hee shall think
 „fitt to be loyned with you in this im-
 „ployment from vs.

These particulars you are to communi-
 cate to none but the Lord Digby, and Lord
 Clanrikard, vnless the Lord Luftenant shall
 think fitt to give you other orders con-
 cerning the same,

„Then followeth the *Princes* approbation
 „of all the instructions of both sortes,
 „with his command to put them in execu-
 „tion in these words.

Charles Prince.

VVEe have perused and doe fully
 approve of your instructions bear-
 „ing date herewith, and Signed by our
 „*Royal Mother*; and doe appoint and au-
 „thorize you soe far as you shall finde vs
 „named therein to put the same in execu-
 „tion.

Charles

Charles Prince,

VV Ee have perused, and doe fully approve of your private instructions bearing date herewith, signed by
 „ our *Royall Mother*, and hierby appoint
 „ and authorise you soe farre as you shall
 „ finde vs named therein to put the same in
 „ execution.

With these instructions and many letters not only to my *Lord Lieutenant Lord Clanrickard*, and *Lord Digby*, but alsoe from the *Queen* to the *Nuncio* and *Cleargie*, to *O Neile* and *Preston*, with all the considerable persons then a mongst the *Irish*, I parted from *Paris* a bout the 16. of march 1647. in Companie of my *Lord Crafford* &c.

„ From *Nantes* I landed at *Waterford* the
 „ 6th. or 7th. of Aprill, and yet soe
 „ unluckely as the assembly at *Kilkennie*
 „ had brooke vp that night at ten of the
 „ Clock, which they would not have done
 „ had they first heard of my landing, for
 „ soe *Mr. Barron*, (whoe hath been an
 „ Agent hier in *France* for the confederat
Irish)

„ Irish) and to whome I sent a post soe soon
 „ as I was in *waterford*, writt back to mee ;
 „ indeed I was very unfortunat for the As-
 „ sembly had both power and meanes , to
 „ doe or undoe . what they had don in ordre
 „ to a treaty , which the supreme Counsell
 „ limited within bounds by the Assembly ,
 „ afterwards had not .

„ Being com to *Kilkennie* I was by Mr.
 „ *Barron* brought to the Counsell , to
 „ whome (after they had caused mee to sitt
 „ in a Chaire not farre from my Lord of
 „ *Antrim* theire President nor would they
 „ heare mee till I had don soe) I delivered
 „ the cause of my coming thither, which
 „ was the *Queen* and *Prince* his desire of
 „ peace in that Kingdom, and for the *Queen*
 „ shee was not only moved unto it for the
 „ Kings intrest, but alsoe by a zeal to the
 „ Catholick Religion and good of the
 „ People.

„ The day I came to *Dublin* I was that
 „ night brought to my Lord of *Ormond* , to
 „ whome I delivered such letters as were
 „ for him , and then said, that hee was sure
 „ those letters expressed civilitys from the
 „ *Queen* and *Prince* ; much better then I
 „ could ; and that therfore I had nothing
 more

„ more now to lay untill I had such instruc-
 „ tions disiphered as I had, which were
 „ many, and would take vp som good tyme,
 „ and by which his Lordship would finde the
 „ confidence her *Majesty* and the *Prince* had
 „ in him, which was soe great, as noe reports
 „ could shake, though wee had weckly
 „ newes, of his treaty with the *Parlament* for
 „ delivery of those places under his com-
 „ maund, to which his Lordship replied,
 „ that confidence shall never deceive them,
 „ and that hee who had ventured himselfe,
 „ his wife, and all his Children in the *Kings*
 „ service, would make noe sample of ventu-
 „ ring or casting away one scruple when there
 „ shall be cause, (this hee spook because one
 „ of his sons was then hostage with the *Par-*
 „ *lament*,) yet if there be necessity hee should
 „ give up those places under his commaund,
 „ hee would rather give them to the *English*
 „ *Rebells*, then to the *Irish Rebells*, of which
 „ opinion hee thought every good English-
 „ man was; to this I replied nothing.

Ormond having seen and perused these pre-
 mises, and now spoken of instructions, I
 demaund in this place, what his grace can
 alleage for himselfe, that can excuse his
 backwardness in satisfying the resonable
 and

and Iust demands of the Confederat Catholicks? Hee cannot say hee wanted power and authority for concluding a peace with them, seeing hee might insert in the papers of 14. blankes what conditions, what Articles hee pleased for himselfe, the Queen and Prince being resolved To owne and Iustify the same as their Royall act and deed; Further, hee had from his Majesty a great latitude of power, to compass such a peace as the Queen and Prince (then) desired, (notwithstanding the rejection of the peace, of 46.) as is to be seen, by the Kings Letter to Ormond Februarij 27th 1647. in these words, page 258. of *Reliquia Carolina.*



ORMOND

ORMOND.

THe Impossibility of preserving my Protestant subjects in Irland, by a continuation of warr, having moved mee to give you the powers and directions; which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, and the same growing dayly much more Evident, that alone were reason Enough for mee, to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point more positive, but besides these considerations, being now manifest that the English rebells have (as farre as in them lyes) given the command of Irland to the Scotts, that theire ayme is at a totall subversion, of Religion, and real power, and that nothing less
will

will content them, or purchase peace. Heer I think my selfe bound in conscience, not to let slip the meanes of settling that Kingdom (if it may be) fully vnder my obedience; nor to loose that assistance, which I may hope from my Irish subjects for such scrupels as in a less pressing condition might reasonably be struck at by mee for theire satisfaction; I doe therefore command you to conclude a peace, with the Irish, whatever it cost, soe that my Protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority preserved; but for all this you are to make for mee the best bargain you can, and not discover your enlargement of power, till you needs must, and though I leaue the management of this great matter, and necessary

Worke

worke intirely vnto you, yet I cannot
 but tell you, that if the suspension
 of Poynings act for such bills, as shall
 be agreed vpon between you there,
 and the present taking away the penal
 lawes against Papists, by a law, will
 doe it; I shal not think it a hard
 bargaine, soe that freely and vigorously
 they engage themselves in my assistance
 against my rebells of England and
 Scotland, for vvhich noe conditions
 can be to hard, not being against con-
 science or honour.

Can there be any thing clearer then
 these expressions? can there be a larger
 commission given, or more streighten com-
 maund layd on Ormond for compassing spee-
 dily a peace with the Irish Catholicks, then
 what is repeated heer? can Ormond pretend
 hee wanted power to conclude a peace, or
 the King a willingness to have it don? his
 Majestyes intentions desires, and sollicita-
 tions to that effect, are vrged in these
 words,

words, what ever it cost for my protestant
 subjects may be secure, and Royal authority;
 there is nothing for certaine (securing Ca-
 tholicks Religion) then that wee desired, and
 vnanimously minded to assure the Kings
 intrest and prerogative and to help him to
 our power, and not to molest or trouble
 any of his protestant subjects, if not pro-
 voked by themselves therunto; take no-
 tice in this place of his royall assent, to
 a Suspension of Poynings act for such bills as
 should be agreed vpon betwixt Ormond and
 us, and the takeing away the penal Lawes a-
 gainst us, neither did hee think it a hard bar-
 gin for wee freely and vigorously engaged our
 selves in his Royall service against his Rebels of
 England and Scotland, and says, no conditions
 can be so hard, for this be don, and that in per-
 forming it nothing is against conscience, and ho-
 nour; heer you may observe the distinction
 his Majesty makes at that tyme betwixt his
 Catholick subjects of Irland, and those his
 Protestant Rebels of England, and Scotland,
 his Majesty, (whose intrest it was, and the
 only Iudge of that fact, to approve, or disa-
 prove us as such,) gave each according his
 desert, calling us his Irish subjects, and those
 of England and Scotland his Rebels, yet Or-
 mond

mond in his conference with Mr. Wintergrant calls us otherwise, (even Rebels as those of England and Scotland were,) adding thereunto that if there were necessary to give up those places under his command, unto any of the three Nations, hee would rather make them over to his English rebels then to his Majestys faithfull Irish subjects, of which opinion hee thought every good Englishman was: to which expression Mr. Wintergrant (a Roman Catholick and a person who had a better opinion of their conscience, then Ormond) replied nothing.

By the prefated expressions of Ormond, you see how hee declared himselfe for an Englishman, and being the Kings Lieutenant in that Kingdome, hee showed himselfe only exteriorly for the King, but interiorly a right Parliamentier, as by his severall open disobediencies and destructive delays to the King, Queen, and Princes orders and instructions, (as to the hastning of the Irish peace) is manifested, such a one in effect I must confess, his darling Orrery would have him to be, by all attributes, of Religion, breeding, person, speech, dispositions, by his Lady and children, and predecessors (though Irish, and well skild in the Irish speech,

speech; and of 480. yeares and more standing in that Country) would to God *Orrery* had gotten his wish in this, and that his *Ormond* had been of two sydes an Englishman, and that our Country, and Countrymen had never knowne *Ormond*, *Orrery*, or *Orrerys* father: were it soe, things had gon far better with vs, and with the Country; you see how this Statfman makes noe difference between the confederate *Catholicks*, and the Rebels of *Scotland*, and *England*, whoe got vp in actuall Armes against the King, who bought, and sould him & had him close Prisoner at the same tyme, these words were spoken by *Ormond*: can *Ormond* produce such an oath of association (made, and agreed vpon by the Parlimentary party) to maintaine the Kings prorogatives, rights, person and Royall interest, as wee have made and set forth vnto the world? vpon all occasions, and in all places, even in the lowest ebb of his *Maiestys* affaires, wee spoke with veneration and respect of his sacred person, when they in pulpits, streets, banks, and theaters, in their privat meetings and Counsels disdainfully violated his sacred person, and persued

X

him

him even in their news books , as you may see in the *Hew!* and *Cry!* of *Mercurius Britannicus* , ridiculously set forth in this forme.

„ If any man can bring tale or tyding
 „ of a wilfull King , which hath , wil-
 „ fully gon a stray from his Parliment
 „ with a guilty conscience , bloody hands,
 „ a hart full of broaken vowes , and pro-
 „ testations , if these marks be not suffi-
 „ cient , there is another in the mouth , for
 „ bid him speak and you will soon know
 „ him , then give notice to *BRITANNICUS* , and
 „ you shall be well payd for your paines;
 „ god saue the Parliment.

These and such like scurrilous disrespects, to his *Royall person* would be their quotidian pastime , yet our good *Ormond* was pleased to list vs in the ranke and catalogue of those ridiculous prophaine Rebels. His *Uncle* , and his *Brother-in-law* , the two prefated *Viscounts* , and the rest of his affected frinds , would hardly believe (had an Angel affirmd it) that *Ormond* would harbour soe hard a thought of the confederate *Catholicks* , whome hee knew full well in his hart to be good , faithfull, and Zealous subjects. Now notwithstanding

ding all these instructions, and the Kings letters before mentioned, with all the instances *Mr. Wintergrans* could make, (which were done with a great deal of care and iudgment) notwithstanding the accomodation (which I shall insert heere) sent by the confederate Catholicks to *Ormond*, notwithstanding all this I say, hee yielded vp to the Kings enemys the *Castle of Dublin*, the Sword, and all, in which and by which action, hee discovered his hatred to the confederate Catholicks, his affection to the *Parliament*, his disrespect, and manifest disobedience to the Kings orders and commaunds, and to those of the *Queen* and *Prince*. Neither wanted *Ormond* (as some men did think) his hidden reasons that moved him to neglect soe much, and sleight the *Royall Authority*.

His Logick made him discourse thus secretly with himselfe : the King is prisoner to his *Parliament*, and noe hopes left for his redemption, hee is like to perish there; the *Queen* alsoe and the young *Prince* they are exiled, what can they doe? They are not able to help themselves, much less to procure any forraigne assistance for his Majesty : the *Parliament* of

England with *Cromwell* have drawne all
England to their owne side with *Scotland*,
 and a great part of *Ireland*, as the large
 Province of *Ulster*, where the *Scot* insulted,
 and that part of *Munster*, where
Insequin with his Army remained vnder
 obedience of the *Parliament*: my best way
 then will be (quoth *Ormond*) to play
 my owne game the best, and make good
 vse of the tymes; I will therfore appeare
 exteriorly for his *Majesty*, and yet oblige
 the *Parliament* in yielding vp to them the
Castle of *Dublin*, with the *Kings* sword
 and all the faire County of *Dublin*, rather
 then keep it and take part with the *Irish*,
 (and this I will doe notwithstanding the
Queen and *Princes* orders and commands to
 the contrary) for I may well teare, the
Irish Catholics and I (though ioyned
 with them) will be at long running
 mastered by the *Parliament*; who will be
 mindfull of mee in due tyme for soe ne-
 cessary and frindly an action. And truly it
 fell out soe, for though they shewed noe
 personal favour to *Ormond*, they shewed
 great kindness to his Lady allowing her
 three thousand pound sterling for her
 ioynter (as a bove said,) and *Cromwells*
 Children

Children weare not less frindly to her Children , and all this kindness hath been done them , by all liklyhood in recompensation of *Ormonds* giving vp the Citty , Castle , and County of *Dublin* to the *Parliament*.

Projects of Policy are deep and secret, and likly this act of *Ormond* was the Policy and Wisdom the Lord *Digby* meant, when hee sayd to *Mr. Wintergrant*, that the Lord of *Ormond* was wiser, then to vnite with the *Irish Catholics*. But in the meane tymewhat became of his Loyalty ? Of his great zeal to his *Majestys* interest ? Of his obedience to the Royall Commaunds , and to the orders, and instructions of the *Queen* and *Prince* ? Herein the *King* was sleighted , the *Queen* and *Prince* put by , who as they held the preserving of *Dublin* , the Castle thereof and County about it , to be the *Kings* great intrest , and beneficiall for his *Majesty*, soe alsoe they did think the delivering vp of all to the *Parliament* would prove a very great los , and distructive to his Royall intrest ; for preventing of which los , and mischief , orders , commaunds , instructions , and all power were sent from *Queen* and *Prince* by *Mr. Wintergrant* to

Ormond to perclose a peace with the *Confederate Catholicks* at what price soever.

If the neglect committed heerin by *Ormond* (fleighting the Royall powers and Authority, a cleare Argument of disobedience in him to both) hath redounded to the viter overthrow of the *Catholicks*, and *Kingdom*, and consequently of his *Majestys* interest therein; you my reader may ludge, or any other impartiall Iudgment?



CHAPTER

CHAPTER 17th.

The accommodation sent by the confederat Catholicks to Ormond Lord Lieutenant for preserving of the Cittie, and Castle of Dublin with the lands about it, rejected by him, and the reasons given by him for such rejection.

GEntle Reader, heer before I give you the accommodation presented^d, and offered by the *Confederate Catholicks*, vnto *Ormond*, I think it necessary to give you first, the sound observation of an vnderstanding and discret Member (made vpon the same accommodation) of the said *confederate Counsell of Catholicks*, which shall serve you as a guiding light to the clearer vnderstanding how the matter was carried on, which vvas vword to vword as follovveth.

That

That the late Articles of pacification concluded ywith the Lord *Marquis* of *Ormond* Anno 1646. Being rejected by the generall assembly vwith an vnanimous consent, by reason the Lord *Marquis* of *Ormond* did not grant those conditions vnto vvhich hee vvas authorized by his *Maiesty*, and for that the *King* vvas brought vnto a condition incapable at present to performe any thing that was granted, and for that there was noe security in them for Religion or Nation, and the insecurity not com to the knowvledg of the *confederats*, vntill after the late pacification vvas published; the late generall assembly in the begining of *March* last, Imployed *Mr. Giffery Barron* som tyme before Imployed in *France*, and *Mr. Gerrald Fennell*, both persons of great trust, vnto the said *Marquis* vwith the inclosed heads or *Overtures* of an accomodation to continue vntill his *Maiesty* yvere in a free condition to grant honourable and safe conditions vnto the *confederats*, and the said *Marquis* after receiving the said *Overtures* by vertue of a letter of *Credence* from the said *Mr. Barron* and *Mr. Fennell* returned ansvver to the assembly, that hee vvould send his ansvvers by

by messengers of his owne, first giving great hopes vnto those Imployed by the assembly, that hee would never Ioyne with the *Parliament*.

„ The assembly expecting this answer
 „ for one and twenty days received it not
 „ to the hazard, and very great charge of
 „ the *Kingdom*; his *Lordship* in the interim
 „ treated with the *Parliament* Commissioners,
 „ and the assembly fully possessed with a
 „ beliefe that his *Lordship* would never
 „ conclude with the *Parliament*, a few days
 „ before the adjournment sent *Theobald*
 „ *Butler* Major of *Hors* in the Ca-
 „ tholick Army to his *Lordship*, to know
 „ the cause which might retard or stay his
 „ *Lordships* answer soe long, and soe much
 „ expected; at whose coming thither the said
 „ *Marquis* (having as it seemes concluded
 „ with the *Parliament*, delivered hostages
 „ vnto their Commissioners, Viz: his
 „ sonne the *Lord Richard Butler*, and the
 „ *Lord Dyllon*, the *Earle of Rescmon* a consi-
 „ derable Peere; and native of this *Kingdom*,
 „ *Collonell Arthur Chischester* sonne and haire
 „ of the *Lord Viscount Chischester*, and *St. James*
 „ *Ware Knight*, a person of consideration
 „ with him, and of the *Private Counsell*)
 hier

„ hier vpon the sayd *Lord Marquis* could
 „ the said *Major Buttler*, that hee would
 „ never propound any thing to the *confe-*
 „ *derate Catholicks* that was in their power
 „ to deny him.

The Assembly receiving this answer soe
 much tending to the *Kings* disservice, by
 which the hopes of an accommodation
 was frustrated, they being solemnly sworne
 to endeavour an accommodation with him,
 (which were consistent with Loyalty and
 Catholick Religion) on the fourth currant
 adjourn'd it selfe vntill the 12th of No-
 vember next; soone after *Monsieur Tallone*,
 and *Monsieur Munnery Residents* to the King
 of France arrived heer, and being with vs
 at the Counsell declared that most of
 their bussiness hither was to solicit an
 accommodation tending Chieftly to the
 preservation of the *Catholick Religion*,
 and wee did on all occations declare our
 willingness and rediness to effectuate the
 same, and after severall Journeys made by
 the said *Monsieur Tallone* to *Dublin*, wee did
 condescend to enlarge the Cessation at first
 agreed vpon to the 17th of Aprill, which
 was performed. And after condescended,
 that in case good and particulare hopes
 were

were demonstrated vnto vs, wee would out of zeal to *our liege Lord the King*, and in our great expectation of the interposition by them promised of the *Crowne of France*, embrace a *Cessation* for six monthes, soe that in the interval the *Lord Marquis* would accept noe *Parliament* forces into any of the Garrisons vnder his command, and give good assurance for his performance therein; where vpon *Monsieur Tallone* repaired to *Dublin*, and brought vnto vs his *Lordships* absolute denvall of *Cessation* for more then three weekes, vnto which wee could not condescend, in regard wee had Iust and pregnant causes of feares, that the said *Lord Marquis* did but seek that short *Cessation* in expectation of forces from the *Parliament*, (whereof wee had well grounded intelligence from London and otherwise;) and his *Lordship* having during the treaty with vs received men from the *Parliament* into *Dublin*, and other his Garrisons, and wee having vnderstood that his *Lordships* reason for not granting a *Cessation* for the six monthes propounded, was that thereby all hopes of his agreement with the *Parliament* had bin taken away, and that then of necessity hee must throw himselfe on
our

our party , before hee could fairly fall of from the *Parliament* , which , whether hee can doe or noe , the delivery of the hostages and their quality , and the forces by him already received , and the dayly expectation hee hath of more , and the late propositions by him sent to the *Parliament* (which if assented vnto by the *Parliament* , hee declared himselfe to stick vnto them) being considered it may be easily Iudged wherein the Impediment to an accommodation lyeth.

Adding to the premises for the more Cleare vnderstanding of our real desires to entertaine an accommodation wit the *Lord Marquis of Ormond* , for preserving and continuing the places vnder his *Majestys* obedience, which his *Lordship* holdeth ; that since our propositions sent him , to put his *Lordship* in minde of an accommodation , hee did neither by message or otherwise authorise any to treat further with vs ther vpon, but vitterly sleighted that treaty , by which wee had noe encouragment given vs to listen to a cessation , which in it selfe was noe way profitable to the affaires of the *Confederate Catholicks* , for the reasons aforesaid , other then in order to the hopes wee might

might have of an accomodation, the Coppy of which propoſitions is hierwith ſent.

Befides the motives aforeſaid , wee have it by aſſured and certaine intelligence, that the *Lord Marquis of Ormond* hath alreedy concluded with the *Parliament* , and hath vpon confidence of prevailing for a ſhort Ceſſation with vs , aſſured them that hee would hould what hee enjoyeth vntill the month of May , expecting then the *Parliament* of *England* their Supplies.



Overtures

Overtures for an accommodation
 delivered by Doctor Gerrald
 Fennell, and Geffrie Barron
 Esquires from the Generall
 assembly of the confederat
 Catbolicks to the Lord
 Marques of Ormond
 in March 1647.

1. **T**hat each party should continue their respective government independent of each other, within such quarters, as by the accommodation shall be agreed on, untill a peace.

2. That both should joyne in a warre, both by sea and land against the Enemyes of his Majesty, and this Nation, and that neither party shall make Peace, Cessation, or other
 Agree.

Agreement, or entertaine any Commerce or Trafick with the said Enemies without the consent of each other untill a peace.

3. That Dublin and other Garrisons in your Lordships quarters may be secured against the said Enemy.

4. That the Confederat Catholics within the quarters, that by this accomodation shall be agreed vpon to be left to your Lordship, shall be secured of the free Enjoying of theire Religion Lives, Estates, and libertys.

5. The like for all other Catholics in the said quarters.

6. That your Lordship shall permit none to live within your quarters, but such as shall sweare to the performance and accomodation.

7. That your Lordship shall enjoy

enjoy the profits of your Estates in the quarters of the Confederate Catholicks , paying such contributions out of it , as the said Confederats shall doe out of theirs.

8. *That the Confederats will contribut to the maintenance of your Lordships Charge , by reason of your place in a Competent way.*

Could there be any accommodation thought on , more profitable to the *King* , more considerable to the *Queen* and *Prince* his expectation , and more advantageous to *Ormond* himselfe , (who therby had the rents of a great part of his Estate , of that I meane , that laid within the *Catholick quarters*) then this ? Let any indifferent conscientious man tell mee if any thing could be more Loyall , or laying forth our great affection to our *King* in the distressed state hee then was in , then this ? Heer you have *Ormonds* answer to said accommodation , sent by *Mr. Wintergrant* vnto the supreme Counsell the 10th of may 1647.

The

The answers were as followeth.

THe two first propositions are such, as appeare fitter to be treated in a League offensive and defensive between neighbouring Princes, then between his *Majestys* governour of a Kingdom, and his subjects of the same declined from their obedience, with whome it is inconsistent with his *Majestys* Lieutenant to Ioyne otherwise, then by their returne to their obedience, and submission to his *Majestys* Authority.

2. To, the third. When they are thus returned to their obedience, and have submitted to his *Majestys* Authority, it will then be seasonable, to consider of securing the Garrisons.

Y

3. The

3. The five other propositions are such as may be fitt to be considered in case of a session, which, when they shall propose vnto vs, wee shall take it into consideration, and give such answers ther-vnto as shall be reasonable.

You see the nature and condition of this answer. *Ormond* would not com to any accommodation with the *Confederate Catholicks*, because they were (as hee saith) declined from their obedience, vntill they had returned againe to their former obedience and submission to his *Majestys* Authority; yet the very same tyme the same *Ormond* treated publickly of a peace with the *Parliament* party (a peace is of a higher nature then an accommodation) open and knowne Rebels to the *King*, and who had his *Majesty* at the very same tyme their close prisoner, and not only treated with those Rebels, but even yielded vp to them the *Cittie of Dublin*, the *Castle*, *sword*, and all appertaining ther-vnto.

Ormond gave to the *confederate Catholicks* and their propositions of an accommo-

dation the answer, hee should have given to the *Parliament* party, hee should have said to their commissioners (with whome hee then treated) that it was not consistent with his *Majestys* Lieutenant to treat with them, vntill they had set his *Majesty* at full liberty, laid downe Armes, restored to the *King* his *Townes*, *Forts*, and *Navy*, acknowledging their obedience and sworne allegiance vnto him. This hee did not, but perclos'd a peace with them as above was said. If this his acting, (when hee could have preserved the *Kings* *Cittie* and *intrest* from his enemys by an accommodation with the *Confederate Catholicks*, as the *King* had commaunded and the *Queen* and *Prince* ordered by their expresse instructions sent to him by *Mr. Wintergrant*) can be excus'd from treason, let any indifferent man Iudge.

Soe much I thought fitt to mention of *Mr. Wintergrant* his *Employment*, of the *Queen* and *Princes* orders and instructions for concluding a peace with the *Irish Catholicks*, and of the *Kings* expresse commaunds to *Ormond* to the same purpose, of the dilligence of *Monsieur la Monnerie*, and *Monsieur Tallone* to that effect in the name of

the French King their Master ; as alsoe of the Articles of the aforesaid accomodation most advantagious to the Kings intrest offered by his subjects the *Confederate Catholicks*.

Put all these together my gentle reader, and then ludge if *Ormond* hath not shewed himselte (transacting with the *Parliment*) disobedient to the Kings Commaunds, and to those of the *Queen* and *Prince*, an Enemie to the *Catholicks* of *Irland*, and a friend to the vsurping *Parliment*.

I now pass to a great and Irreparable Injury don to the whole *Nation* by his *Grace* (a graceless action) the excluding of all the *Catholicks* of *Irland* from the benefitt of the generall pardon and indemnity, granted to all his other subjects, of what Religion soever.



CHAPTER

CHAPTER 18th.

*How, and by whome, were the
Catholicks of Irland excluded
from the benefitt of generall
pardon.*

Certaine it is, that the King intended the pardon and act of Indemnity as well for the Catholicks of Irland, as for those of England, and the rest of his subjects, which is made cleare and evident by his Majestys speech in favour of the Irish Catholicks, in the house of Peeres, Iuly the 27th 1660. I hope (said the King) I need not put you in minde of Irland, and that they alone shall not be without the benefitt of my mercy, they have shorne much affection to mee a broad, and you will have a care of my honour, and what I have promised to them.

Could the Kings intention of the benefitt of pardon and his mercy to the Irish Catholicks be spoken in more cleare and noble expressions? But this Ormond (to his Eternall infamy be it said) hath cruelly opposed, in pro-

pounding a wicked and cunning prouizo in the houle of *Pettes*, which theire *Lordships* thought would have satisfy'd vs, and soe have past it by: by this perfidious fraud of *Ormond*, wee have been exempted from the benefitt of the Indemnity. This is the grace *Ormond* (*Peter Walsh* his sauiour of the *Irish Nation*) hath don vs, for which the Malediction of God will likely fall vpon him and his posterity.

After being excluded from the generall pardon, *Ormond*, *Clarindon*, *Orrery*, *Glaathworthy*, and the rest of that holy Synagog put theire heads together for drawing vp a *Bill of Settlement* of the *Kingdoms* of *Irland*, (soe powerfull they weare in Cheating his *Majesty* as hee gave them his ordinance for conceiuing said *Bill of Settlement*, and theire owne *Secretary* had the penning of it.) By the artifice of those great men, and force of that *Bill* wee have lost for ever our *Lands*, *Estates*, and the liberty of free borne subjects. This *Bill* is of an Immens Bulck, fraght with faire Language and barbarous contents and proceedings, (*They call it the Kings most gracious Declaration for the settlement of Irland:*) This monstrous Bulck with all the substance therin, hath bine reduced
into

into few heads by a learned Lacyer as followeth,

The substance and sens of the vast bill of settlement.

1. **B**Y the late act of *Parliament* made for the settlement of *Ireland*, all that might pretend to be free from the guilt of the late *Commotion* are concluded from being heard, and their estates disposed for the most part, to such of the *English* as served the *Vsurper Cromwell* against his late and now *Majesty*.

2. Those, who submitted to the peace concluded by his late *Majestys* Authority in the yevre 1648. are by the said act debarred from the benefit of the articles concluded in, and by the same peace, and the publick faith then given denied them, as hath bine already decree'd.

3. Innocents are secluded from being restored to their houses in *Corporations*, a few excepted, whoe were restored to their houses by his *Majestyes* Letters.

4. *Catholicks* are not suffered to have their freedom in *Corporations*, or liberty of trafficke.

5. The *Lords* and other *Catholicks*, whoe had presentations of benefices, are secluded from the benefit of their said *Privileges*, except they become *Protestants*.

6 All the Nobility and gentry, that submitted to said *Peace* of 48. and put themselves to vast charges and expences in raising troopes, and Regiments of Horis and foote to serve his Majesty against the *Usurper*, have lost their *Estates*, and their *Lands* settled vpon those, who made the *Usurpers* quarell their owne, and fought vnder him against the King and his *Catholick* subjects of *Ireland*; and not only that, but are alsoe excluded from all *Imployments* in the Kings service, or *Common wealth*, except they renounce their Faith.

By these meanes they are brought to great distress, want of Credit, Livelyhood, and reliefe, *Nil nisi vota supersunt*.

A short Ponderation vpon these Branches.

1. **N**Ever was pronounced from the beginning of Christianity, to this day, a more vnjust and wicked sentence against

against Christians then have been by this act; which beares the name of the *Kings most gracious Declaration, for the settlement of Ireland,*

2. What can there be more cruell, more vnjust, more Impious, then to hinder one to answer for himselfe; and prove himselfe Innocent; what more against the law of nature? What can there be more iniquous, and vnworthy of kingly piety, then to conferre the loyall subjects Estates vpon open knowne Rebells? What more sacred then publick Faith? What more infamous then the violation of the same? For which in all tymes, dreadfull punishments have befallne the *Violatours.*

3. Can there be any thing more Barbarous and against Iustice, then to turne an Innocent out of his owne house and right Inheritance?

4. The *Christians* in *Constantinople*, and other the *Dominions* of the *Turck*; are dealt with farre better, and with more moderation, then the *Catholicks* of *Ireland*, whome those *Strasmen*, have excluded from all *Commercie*; which the very *Turcks* doe grant vnto their *Christians.*

5. Men must renounce their Religion, the Basis of salvation, or loose their
ad-

Adversus, a cruell Impious Tye vpon Ecclesiastick patrons, but each of them will answer, *Non Emam tanti panitere.*

6. Heer you see Rebellion rewarded, and Loyalty punished, a preposterous and monstrous kinde of Iustice; Behold O bountifull God this their portentous and Impious iniquity. Now I see afflicted Countrymen you may ramble vp and downe the world, and loudly raise your voyce and say *Spectaculum facti sumus mundo & Angelis, & hominibus.* „Wee are made a „spectacle to the world, to Angels, and „to men. Could there be more formal Iniquity, then to deuest Innocent true subjects of their estates and liberty, and conserre the same vpon those fought against the King and Crowne? was it not a pretious knavery of these *Statismen*, to perswade the King to such Impiety as this?

What shall I think or say of these *Statismen*, contrivers of this great wickedness? Even that which *Salvianus* the good Bishop of Mifsilia, said of the *Lieutenants* and *Prefects* of the *Provinces*. *Magistratus, (quoth hee) Et Proviindiarum praefecti Statuunt non furandum, et agunt ipsi latrocinia, puniunt rapinam cum ipsi sint Maximi raptores; puni-*

unt

unt expoliatores domorum, cum ipsi sint expoliato-
res provinciarum; tantum is adeptus honor dat
beneficij, vt semper habeant ius latrocinandi.

„The rulers and commaunders of Citys
„and Provinces, ordaines a Law that none
„shall steal, and yet they themselves play
„the theefe; they punish rapine and yet
„they themselves are great snatchers; they
„punish plunderers of houses, and them-
„selves are the Robbers and plunderers
„of intyre Provinces; for this they have
„of benefitt by the honour obtained,
„that they can allways robb and plunder
„with Authority. This have bine the
liberty our præfated Statesmen have assumed
to themselves, and without question theire
malice must be deeply polished, when
they could perswade, deceive and delude
a King stiled (*the King of mercy and pardons*)
to give his Royall assent and approbation
to the forementioned Act of settlement, an
vnspcakable, and an vnheard Iustice, *

*Pregenies viperarum quis demonstravit vobis
fugere a ventura Ioa facite ergo fructum dignum
penitentia* „ Ye breed of vipers who hath
„shewed you to fly from the wrath to
„com, yield therefore fruct-worthy of
penance.

* *Matth. cap. 3. v. 8.*

penance. I am hie compelled to Cry
with the Prophet *Jeremy* with teares and
sighs to God * Remember o Lord *Wha* it
saies to vs, behold and regard our reproach,
our inheritance is turned to Aliens, our houses
to strangers.

* *Lament. cap. 5.*

CHAPTER 19th.

*Of all these Vsurpers who hath vsed
most Artifice and Perfidie?*

IT is by this made evident, that all
of them vsed much cuning and cruelty
in compassing the worke of *Catholick*
Islands destruction: but *Ormond* hath surpassed
them all; take my reason.

Overy, *Cloathworthy*, and all of the holy
Cromwelian crew have don noe less nor
more, then wee expected from them, when
they should be able to doe vs a mischief; at
longe running they had power to doe it;
and they have egrediously don it, and
boasting in that sinn, they tell vs, they
have in our *Tragedy* acted their owne
part, that of enemys: and wee must con-
fess

ffs they have not deceiued vs in trust,
 haueing never trusted them.

Clarindon hath been but a stranger to our
Nation, wee first knew this Crooked man
 in his, and our exile, and though wee
 have don him good service, hee was
 evermore our Enemy, and pay'd benefitts
 don him with Injurys, as men of his
 nature vse to doe; in a word hee was a
 man (as all that knew him will say)
 would for gold sell away the sonne of
 God himselfe, and for gold hee hath sold vs
 and Iustice.

But *Ormond* the greatest Nobleman now
 of our *Nation*, in whome all the Nobility
 in generall, and the generality of the people
 repos'd (a speciall confidence hath betrayd
 that trust, a black staine of infamy
 vpon a great *Pierre* descended from soe Ca-
 tholick and Noble Antecessors.) Hee hath not
 proved (as wee expected) a pillare and
 prop to his *Nation*, but a brused rotten
 Reed of *Egypt*, deserting vs in tyme of
 tryall, and loyning with all our Enemys,
 that thirsted after our lives and possessions.
 It is true, wee are not our selves without
 some blame in the ruins of our *Fortunes*
 and *Country*, our sinne is our vnadvised
 trust

trust in Ormond, which made the way easy for him to deceive vs; wee have not bine wary, and mischief entreth at the open gates of security, Ormond came vpon vs in that kinde; wee had most of vs frindly harts for him, and wee tooke his hart to be such to vs. * *Pet maximam amicitiam maxima fallendi copia.* Infine wee have bine lost, because wee did not feare his crafty ways and dealings: but let him consider well, what *Annalls* and *Posterity* will say of him for having betray'd vs in this nature: certainly hee hath don more vnworthily then if hee had oppressed vs by open violence: *Quia fraus fadior quam aperta violentia.*

After this feate of distruction don vpon vs, at which Nations abroad are amaized, and abhorr the actors, (and wonder much our King that spake soe much good of vs *In facie solis*, gave vs vp sacrifices to our Enemies without all protectiō of our Innocency,) what doe these gallant *Vsurpers*? Doe they relent, or doe they feare the reuenging hand of God? it seems noe: but that they rather looke like men left only to make vp the number of those, the Holy Ghost speaks of.
Cum

* *Salust. Inguish.*

„ * Cum (said they) and let vs enjoy the good
 „ things that are , let vs fill our selves with
 „ pretious wine , and Oyntments , and let
 „ not the flower of the tyme pass vs , let vs
 „ Crowne our selves with Roses before they
 „ wither ; Every where let vs leave signes of
 „ loy , because this is our portion , and lott ;
 „ let vs oprets the poore lust man , and not
 „ spare the Widow , but let our strength be
 „ the law of Iustice , for that which is weake
 „ is found vnprofitable. Have not I beseech
 you the doeings of those oppressed the afflic-
 ted Innocent *Irish* , been the very same
 doeings of those the *Holy Ghost* speakes of,
 living aud pampering themselves in great
 feasting , sensuality , pomps , vanitys , pride,
 and pleasures ? They seem by their life and
 manners to be *Athists*, (of that *Tribe* many
 these days live in Courts) and if they are
 really soe , they will Enjoy the purchases they
 have made by Robbery , without any vn-
 quietness of minde , for what should they
 feare , that owne noe *God* or puissance to
 punnish , and reward, sin and vertue. But if
 they truly beleeeve in *God*, it is Impossible
 they can Enjoy wrongfully the Lands and
 livings of the Innocent , that perrish for
 want

* *Wisdoms the 2. Capl*

want of them, without some disquietness of Conscience, and apprehensions of the Iust Judgments of God to fall upon them. Those-men cannot want some of Caine's feares, who after having killed his brother Abel had never quietness or rest of minde, but was still tormented with severall feares in hart and tremblings in his head, soe that this unfortunate bloody man terrify'd and frighted at his own action, cry'd out a low'd to God. * *Ecce Ego me bodie a facie terra, & a facie tua abscondar, Et ero vagus & profugus in terra, omnis igitur, qui me invenerit, occidet me.* „ Loe „ then doth cast mee out this day from the „ face of the earth, and from thy face „ shal I be hid; and shall be a vagabond, „ and fugitive on earth, every one therefore „ that findeth mee, shall kill mee. The spilling of Innocent Abels blood made him feare all would kill him, and therefore allways trembling, hee feared men, and fled from men, and though the Lord have putt a marke on Caine, that whosoever found him, should not kill him, (a trembling in his head as many hold.) Caine was allways frighted, and soe distracted, as to hold that trembling of his head, for a signe given by God that hee should be killd. You see

see by this how great is the feare and
 frightening of a guilty Conscience. And can
 these men live without being frightened
 after killing soe many Innocent *Abels* by
 nakedness, vermin, famine, and all
 kinde of miseries, having taken from
 them all they had in the world. There
 have been many opulent persons and of
 great quallity, *Yea and som of them Peeres*
and Lords of the Realme have bin lodg'd in
small smocking Hurts and Cabins, and as I
may well say buried there, and starved to
death with there Wives and Children. Can
 the Cruell Robbers of these men live
 without the feare of Gods anger? If they
 have not a trembling in the head as *Caine*
 had, likely they will have a trembling
 in their harts.

CHAPTER 20th.

The *Author* speaks to *Ormond*
 a lone.

BUt my Lord that I may returne to
 your Grace (whose house I have ever
 honoured,) and spend a few words with
 Z you

you alone. Amongst *Birds* and *Beasts* (you know full well) som are Noble, and som Ignoble ; *Lyons* begett *Lyons* , and *Eagels* ingender *Eagels* ; your ancient house hath given of both *Lyons*, and *Eagels*. Your Noble progenitors , nobly minded did worthy things , and performed great matters, the poorest neighbour liu'd lastly neare them , possessing quietly what was his owne , they succoured the distressed, and farre it was from them to oppress the weakest ; but have been a propp to such as could not stand by themselves ; and for such worthy doings , the affection and blessing of those releev'd by them, and supported by them in theire right and Iust causes , have followed your Ancestors : But my Lord the world speakes otherwise of your *Grace* , that being extolled to the title of *Duke* (that your house had not before) you digenerate from the true piety and greatness of your brave Ancestors , for the natives ouer all the *Kingdome* complaine that your power is Imploy'd to the opression of all, wherfore they all cry out , can not the *Duke* of *Ormonds* greatness stand without our fall
and

and Ruin. Is it possible my Lord that the title of greatness is soe much increased in you, and that of vertue diminished?

My Lord the Lyons of your house (I meane the noble Earles) did praye openly and fairly, but your game is of a new forme; you are a Lyon of a nother nature, then was one of the greatest Earles of your house (by name black Thomas Grandfather to your Lady) a person highly esteemad by Queen Elizabeth, King James and the Counsellors of England and Island, and of the people of both Kingdoms, hee made noe purchases by distroying the natives of the Kingdom, as yours are, yet hee was both a happy and glorious Earle, hospicioussly noble, and had many depending of his bounty and good nature, who made noe small fortune by him.

* Nahum the Prophet, if you will take the paynes to read him, will tell you what kinde of Lyon you are; Where is (saith hee) the habitation of Lyons? and the pasture of Lyons whelps? The Lyon hath caught (saith hee) sufficiently for his Whelpes, and

Z 2

hath

* Nahum cap. 2.

hath killed for his *Lynesse*, and hath filled his
Denns with praye and his *Couch* with Ra-
 yening, & Ormond? Ormond thou hast caught
 sufficiently for thy *Whelps*, thou hast fill'd
 thy *Denns* with praye; and thy *Couch*
 with *Ravening*, thou hast made the noble
 house of Ormond an Infamous *Denn* and
Couch of *Rapine*; thy whelps are made
 fatt with *Praye* and booty made vpon thy
 neighbours.

My Lord, there is a nother *Prophet*
 speakes to your Grace, and to *Orrery*, and
 the rest of the *vsurpers*, in words able to
 make you tremble: *Woe to him* (said
 * *Habacuc*) that gathereth naughty *Avarice* to his
 house that his nest may be on high, and thinketh
 hee is delivered out of the hand of *Evill* thou
 hast thought confusion to the house, thou hast
 cutt in sunder many people, and thy soule hath
 sinned, because the stone out of the wale shall
 cry, and the *Timber* that is between the iunctures
 of the buildings, shall answer, *Wo to him*
 that buildeth a *Citty* in blouds, and prepareth a
Citty in *Iniquity*. A dreadfull expression.

Have not you my Lord and the rest of
 your *Complices* cutt insunder many fa-
 milyes; most of them Er this consumed
 with hunger and miserys are gon into the

* *Habacuc* cap. 2.

other

other world, and for such of them that live as yet, they are miserably perishing at home and abroad, will not the blood of those be layd at your doore? Your ambition have built nestes in a high place from the reach of human hands, but not from the hand of God, who with the breath of his Indignation will cast them all downe in his good tyme; yee have houses and magnificent palaces for your posterity in *Blouds*, and the stone out of the wale shall cry out against you, and the Timber between the Iunctures of your buildings shall answer, *We to them that builded Citys in bloud prepar'd houses in Iniquitys*; God in a moment (though at present yee glory and tryumph in your greatness and pleasures) can fill your houses with dissolutions, mournings, ignominy, death, feare, and trembling: And perhaps will doe it, when you least think of it.

When *St. Ralph Fan* was condemn'd to dye by the practices of the Duke of *Nor-thumberland*, and brought to the place of Execution, in protestation of his Innocency, spook only these two words, *My blood shall be the Dukes bolster as long as hee shall live.*

My Lord you may have (I feare) many of these vneasy bolsters , cast therefore an eye vpon the other world (whilst God mercifully gives you tyme to doe it) and take that care now for your selfe , that noe other will , once you are gon , and perswade your selfe , that without this care all is lost and gon for all Eternity.

CHAPTER 21th.

Ormond Seriously advised to think of longe Eternity.

MY Lord, God did forbid the Hebrewes to mingel honny in the oblations, but commaunded the to vse salt in every sacrifice. * *What sacrifice soever thou offerest, thou shalt season it with salt, neither shalt thou take a way the salt of the Covenant of the God from thy Sacrifice. In every oblation thou shalt offer salt.* What miltery doth this signify to banish honny from the Sacrifice and make vse of salt ? Why salt in Sacrifice and not honny ? This is to tell vs that
sweet

* *Levit. cap. 2.*

sweet things deceive vs, and that flatterers betray vs, but sharp things cure vs, and mortify the body and minde when wee are to Sacrifice both to God, and that wee are to heare patiently and willingly those, that speak truth without assentation, and with the salt of sencerity. * God himselfe sayd, *My people they that are blessed, the same deceive thee.* But alas it is now in fashion that Princes and great men are deceived, because those about them will not speak a truth, that their Masters will not willingly heare. It is a great question with mee, if any one of your numerous family, or of all those that depend vpon you, and gaine much by you, or of all those, that seem to be your friends, will say to your Grace the language and words of the Prophet *Isai.* * *Our Lord shall come to Judgment with the Ancients of his people, and his Princes, for you have destroyed the vineyard, and the spoyle of the poore is in your house. Why doe you consume my people, and gryn'd the faces of the poore, saith our Lord the God of Hostes?* I doe not think any of them hath spokken to your Grace in this kinde, though they know well the spoyle

Z. 4.

of.

* *Isai.* cap. 3. * *Isai.* cap. 3.

of the poore is in your house, and that you and many more powerfull men have *Grynded the faces of the poore* and destroyed and consum'd them; wherefore you and they have reason to feare, that God will soon com to Iudgment with you, vnles you will tymly prevent it.

Wise men should chafe away from them flatterers, as wee doe swallowes for making nests of dung in our dwellings. My Lord flatter not your selfe with the great contentments of this world you Enjoy, vast revenues, great pomp, Copious Retenue, the veneration and low bowing of the people vnto you, Gorgious, atyre, magnificent feasting, all your Iolitys and pleasures; they will all pass a way like smook, and that soon, for they say you begin to be old; those that tells your *Grace* these things can make you happy, doe but delude you, and you can carry away of all noe more then a winding sheet; it were therefore wisely don to forsake tymly those things, that will forsake and vndoe vs. And I think truly it would be a great blessing to a person of your greatness and Imployments, that God would stricke you with som great affliction and
Cross,

Cross, for it is not easy for those to be wise and holy, whose see nothing round about them but prosperity, delights, the applause of men, and all sort of pleasures and sensualities, and that noe man tells them they are in danger. *Alexander* the great, in the height of his Glory and victorys suffered men to call him the sonne of *Iupiter* (it was not Enough for his ambition to be the sonne of *Philip of Macedon* a wise and great King) but wounded with an Arrow in the siege of a Citty hee said to his courtiers and flatterers round about him. * *Eccū omnes jurant me esse filium Iovis: sed vulnus hoc me esse hominem clamat.* „ Behold all sweare I am „ the sonne of *Iupiter*: but this wound „ proclaimes mee to be a man. Vexation makes vs know Gods greatness and our owne weakness.

When the people of *Israel* murmoured seditiously against *Moyse* and *Aaron* for want of water, God commaunded them both to take the *Rodd*, and stricke a Rock therewith, and it should give them water. All the tyme *Moyse* held the *Rodd* lifted over the Rock and did not stricke, there came

* *Senec. Epist. 45.*

came noe water, but the Rock being twice stricken with the Rod, water flow'd out abundantly, and the people and their Cattle did drinck plentifully. The hart of a man is a hard Rock, and will yield noe water of compunction vntill stricken by the hand of God, but when man is smartingly afflicted in his fortunes or health, then hee can weep, and know God and himselfe; it were therefore wholesome and good for your Lordship to receive a great vexation, crosse, and contradiction in this world, and soe I confesse it should be to mee, that have nothing of contentations and worldly pleasures as you have.

Remember my good Lord in what a trembling was *Ezechias*, when the Prophet said to him. * *Take order With thy house for thou shalt dye, and thou shalt not live.* Then *Ezechias* though a holy King in feare cry'd out. *Quis est hic, qui sic humiliat sublimis reges terre?* God hath already given your grace, a sensible and gracious alarm, when those desperate *Russians* set vpon you by night and wounded you, haling and abusing you most ignominiously: God in his mercy brought you of from those

* *Isai. cap. 38.*

bloody

bloudy men and would not permitt you to be murthered by them, but gave you tyme to doe pennance and dispose your selfe well for the house of death; you can never thank his devine goodnes enough for this deliverance: make good vse my Lord of this great mercy in duly preparing your selfe for the next world. Wee goe to bedd sound and well, and yet wee are not certaine to live till the morning following, many were found dead in theire bedd that parted the night before merrily and sound from theire frinds; it may bee your case my Lord as well as theires, and mine alsoe, and to what Eternity wee shall com God alone knowes: *ô Eternity?* *ô Eternity* I how little art thou in the harts of men! *ô* fyre burning for all *Eternity* how little art thou feared!

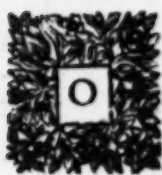
My Lord I present to your Grace a short but horrible Meditation of *Eternity*, as this. If the damned soules could be perswaded that after a hunderd thousand millions of yeares theire torments should have an end, that very perswation alone would be a great comfort to them, for then theire sufferings (albeit very longe) at lenght would com to an end, but otherwise they
are

are perswaded, and assured the revolution of their paines and flames shall never have an end ; (this makes them dispaire and blasphemc the goodnes of God) if this wee beleeeve not, where is our faith? And if wee beleeeve it, where is our Iudgment and hart? What madnes is it to neglect soe Important a matter, as the *Eternall Salvation of our soule*? (without this a thousand worlds are worth nothing) this is the great matter of state, on which wee ought to bestow day and night, all care and deliberation, what rest can wee take by night or by day when this wee sleight?

Harken as yet my Lord (with this I make an end) to the fearfull words afflicted Iob spake to those came to visit him. * *Why then* (quoth this holy man) *Doe the Impious live? Are they advanced, and strenghtened with riches? theire seed continueth before them, a multitude of kinsmen and Nephews in theire sight, theire houses be secure and peaceable, and the Rod of God is not vpon them.* But did Iob make an end hier? noe, but a little after hee says. *Where is the house of the Prince? and where*

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are the Tabernacles of the Impious? Ask any of the way-faring men, and you shall vnderstand, that hee knoweth the selfsame things, because the Wicked man is kept vnto the day of perdition, and hee shall be led to the day of fury. My Lord, I say, ponder well in your minde these dreadfull speeches of holy and patient Iob, and prepare your selfe in tyme (I conjour you) against this day of Fury and perdition.



Great and grarious
God Grant to mee,
and this Noble-man,
(grant I begg by the
pretious Bloud and
Sacred wounds of thy deare Sonne
Iesus) that wee may in Humility,
in Teares, and true Contrition of
hart returne to the, whose great-
ness, and goodness wee have soe
often

often, and grivously offended,
(our great misery falls prostrate at
the feet of thy great mercy,) Grant
to vs I beseech thee going out
of this miserable and wicked
world a *Happy*, and *Holy* boure,
and that when the *Vaile* of the
Temple shall be lifted vp, wee
may see you face to face for all
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XIX. CHAP. Who vsed most artifice and perfidie against the *Catholicks* of *Ireland*, *Clarindon* sold them a way for Gold, *Orrery* & his Companions payd the gold, and *Ormond* in trust deceived them.

XX. CHAP. The Author speaks to *Ormond* alone, and tells him the house of *Ormond* bred magnanimous Lyons, & what Kinde of Lyon hee is himselfe, and how hee hath made the house of *Ormond* an infamous den, and Couch of Rapine. Hee tells him further the speech of sir *Ralph Fan* dying by the practices of the *Duke* of *Northumberland*.

XXI CHAP. The Author seriously advises *Ormond* to think of longe *Eternitie*, and especially desires him to consider well two passages of the *Prophet Isae* in the third, & thirty eight Chapter. And a sentence of *Iob* in the 21. Chapter, and concludes this little book with a harty prayer for the *Duke* & himselfe.

FINIS.

